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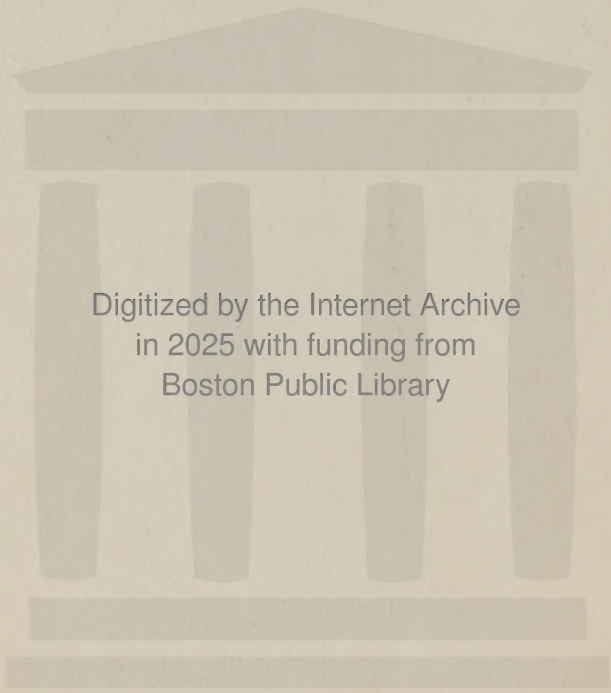
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HISTORY

OF

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE,

AND ITS COLONIES,

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

TO THE

INDEPENDENCE OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

FROM THE GERMAN OF

A. H. L. HEEREN,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN GOTTINGEN AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL FRENCH ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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Vol. 2

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS...TO WIT:

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BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the third day of June, A. D. 1828, in the fifty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America, SIMEON BUTLER, of the said District, has deposited in this Office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies, from the Discovery of America to the Independence of the American Continent. From the German of A. H. L. Heeren, Professor of History in Gottingen and Member of the Royal French Academy of Inscriptions."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned:" and also an act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."

JOHN W. DAVIS, *Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*

B. L. Swan Jun
No 341 Broad Way New York

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B. L. Swan Jans

SECOND PERIOD.

THIRD DIVISION OF THE PERIOD.

From 1740 *to* 1786.

FIRST PART.

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN EUROPEAN SYSTEM DURING THIS PERIOD.

1. From Frederic, his age may with justice derive its name. But however powerfully his mind acted upon it, the age was so variously marked, that it is difficult to delineate it in all its features. This was the period in which the culture of Europe attained, perhaps, its highest condition, certainly its farthest extension; and the nations of this portion of the world became more assimilated to each other. Languages, widely diffused, facilitated the general circulation of ideas; and the difference of religious faith began more and more to lose its importance in private life, having previously lost its weight among the governments.

2. This increase of a diversified culture was displayed under many various forms. The science of civil polity, no less than political economy, was brought to perfection; the commerce of the world obtained an extent and importance, hitherto unparalleled. Every sea was navigated; and the

most distant countries were explored. War, as an art, was carried to its highest degree of developement. And all this was performed not merely practically; but the spirit of the time took no less pleasure in establishing theories. To submit every thing to investigation, to render every thing the object of reasoning, was its prominent peculiarity. What did it not believe it could fathom, and what did it not think it had fathomed?

3. One consequence of this wide diffusion of culture was the great influence, which distinguished writers were able to acquire. The enlightened classes of society were far more closely connected, than in any former period. The wall of partition, which manners and modes of life had drawn between the commons and the nobility, was abolished, after literary acquisitions were enjoyed in common, and were mutually prized; and little as the nobility was disposed to remit any of its prerogatives, it abated many of its pretensions in social life. This great change proceeded from the very city, which was regarded as giving the tone; it could not, therefore, but powerfully react on the rest of Europe.

4. Although the policy of the cabinets of Europe retained its ancient forms, it was actuated by things which never before had exercised an influence. Great writers, read in all circles, even in the highest, guided public opinion; and their voice was one of authority. If they did not themselves hold a seat in the cabinet, if they exercised no immediate influence on the events of the day, they nevertheless enlarged, in various ways, the circle

of ideas, and in so many objects of the highest practical importance, they moulded the whole view. How much more, as statesmen, as kings even, became authors, and lived in intercourse with authors? Could this remain without affecting the spirit of practical politics, domestic and foreign? And could a less effect have been produced by the great change, which took place, generally for the worse, in the modes of thinking, arising from the diminution of religious feeling, not only among the great, but also among the people? How unsatisfactory would be the history of this period, were we to disregard these phenomena, and the influence, they have had on the condition of Europe.

5. How much, not directly political in its nature, would it be necessary for us to notice, were we to attempt to answer the great question how, in the very time, when the proud structure of the political system of Europe appeared to stand forth in all its strength and solidity, it could have been undermined on so many sides, and its principal pillars caused to totter. A beginning indeed may have been made in former periods, but it is undeniable, that it principally happened at this time, although unheeded by the age itself. None but a building, completely undermined, could have experienced so fearful an overthrow, as that which befel the political system of Europe.

6. Were this period to be marked with a general appellation, it would bear perhaps the name of the German period. Germans filled all the principal thrones of Europe, that of the Bourbons excepted, Frederic, Maria Theresa, Catharine,

and the Georges. German armies were the models of military art; German countries of civil administration. None disputed with this nation the praise of science; and though in the high career of its literature, its writers belonged less to Europe, than to itself; it possessed, on the other hand, the consolation, that it never cherished in its bosom any of the sophists, whose much read works contributed so essentially towards subverting the existing order of things.

7. In sketching the public contests of this period, it is a peculiar appearance, that the west and north of Europe were more deeply connected with each other, than in any preceding period. The reason of this lay in the prosperous condition of the Prussian monarchy. After it had assumed its station in the rank of the first powers, it became the link which united the chains of the two political systems. Although this connexion should not remain unobserved, the north yet retained its own interest, and it was rather Prussia, which was implicated in the disputes of both systems, than that the two were in reality, permanently united into one system.

I. *Public Contests in Europe, from* 1740 *to* 1786.

a. *To the alliance between France and Austria, from* 1740 *to* 1756.*

8. The period began with a great convulsion of the system of Europe, which, in as far as it aimed

* The collection of state papers of Wenk and of Von Martens, (see Vol. I. p. 3.) A general survey of the treaties of peace is given in :

at the destruction of one of its leading monarchies, seemed to menace the overthrow of the whole. It was occasioned by the extinction of the Austrian or Hapsburg male line, with Charles VI., who, as well as his elder brother Joseph, left daughters only.

Charles VI. died on the 20th Oct. 1740. Maria Theresa, his elder daughter (born 1717), according to the Pragmatic Sanction, heiress to all his states, was married to Francis Stephen, formerly duke of Lorrain, since the year 1737 archduke of Tuscany (see Vol. I. p. 273). Maria Josepha, the elder daughter of the emperor Joseph I., was married to

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Geist der merkwürdigsten Bündnisse und Friedenschlüsse des 18ten Jahrhunderts, von Chr. D. Voss. 5 Bde. 8vo. To this period belongs the 4th volume.

This remarkable period has not, as yet, been treated generally: a beginning is made in:

J. C. Adelung's pragmatische Staatsgeschichte Europas von dem Ableben Kaiser Carl's VI.; VI. Thle. 1762. etc. It goes only to 1749.—Six quarto volumes are rather too much for nine years.

The Memoirs now begin to become more rare. Their place is supplied in some degree by:

W. Coxe History of the House of Austria. Voll. V. and:

Oeuvres posthumes de Frederic II. 1788. T. I—V. To the history belong, Voll. I. II. containing the Histoire de mon temps from 1741 to 1745. The most spirited of all the historical works of the royal author, but not without animosity. Voll. III. IV. contain the Histoire de la guerre de sept ans. As the title announces, it is merely a history of the war. Vol. V. contains Histoire depuis 1763 à 1778.

The number of journals and political pamphlets increased extraordinarily in this period. After those quoted Vol. I. p. 243, had ceased, the most perfect was:

Politisches Journal. Altona since 1781. two volumes annually. (Edited by Schirach).

A. Chr. Wedekind Chronologisches Handbuch der neuern Geschichte von 1740 to 1807. Luneburg. 1808. is very useful for the chronological survey.

Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony; the younger Maria Amelia was married to Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria.

9. Frederic the Second had already succeeded his father, in this same year. He ascended the throne with the determination to place Prussia in the rank of the first powers, and saw the means of this in aggrandizement. He himself had but little wish to exhibit his undertakings from the side of justice; but he was distinguished from the number of common conquerors by a fixed object. He desired no more than was requisite for that object, and the conquest of Silesia appeared to him sufficient.—His claims to some portion of it furnished him with an apology. Thus began, in this year, under a propitious concurrence of political relations, the first Silesian war.

1740. 31st May.

The claims of Prussia on the duchy of Silesia: 1. Jägerndorf. It properly belonged to a younger branch of the electoral line, but the duke John George, as adherent to Frederic V. elector of the Palatinate, was declared under the ban by the emperor Ferdinand II. in 1623, and neither he nor his heirs restored. 2. Liegnitz, Brieg and Wohlau. The claims were founded on a compact of inheritance, by which the survivor was to succeed to the property of the other, concluded 1735 between the duke at that time, and the elector Joachim II. This compact had been opposed by Ferdinand I. as king of Bohemia and supreme feudal lord. After the extinction of the ducal house 1675, Austria took possession of it; and in 1686, the prince elector, Frederic William renounced it, in consideration of the transfer of the circle of Schwiebuss; which however was again secured to Austria by a secret treaty with the electoral prince at that time,

and actually resigned in 1695 after the commencement of his reign.—However just or groundless these claims were, the whole conduct of Frederic proves, that he would rather enforce them by arms than by negotiations, for thus only could he gain the whole of Silesia.—He invaded the country, almost without defence Dec. 1740, and achieved the conquest, with but little blood, till the battle at Molwiz, 10th April 1741.

10. This rapid enterprise of Frederic contributed much towards bringing to maturity a far greater project in the French court. This was devised not by the ruling minister, Cardinal Fleury, but by a party in the court, the leaders of which, the marshal Belleisle and his brother, hoped to make it the means of acquiring power. Elizabeth of Spain was no less urgent, "that her second son too might gain a morsel of bread." Its object was nothing less, than to tear from the Austrian monarchy the imperial crown, and at the same time to effect its dismemberment.

The depriving of Austria of the imperial crown, which would have rendered it, both in form and fact, elective, would of itself have been sufficient to subvert the political system of Europe. Had there not already been enough of elective kingdoms?

11. No semblance of justice could here be alleged, for France had not merely recognized, but even guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction. This seemed however to be the time, to overthrow the ancient rival of France and separate its provinces. The distracted condition of the Austrian monarchy and the certainty of finding allies, constituted an inviting prospect. But it was soon seen, that the means were badly calculated; and if the attempt

had succeeded, would France have been the gainer? Under existing circumstances, the dominion of Europe, with which it may have flattered itself, was an empty phantom. To maintain that dominion, far different men would have been necessary, than those which France could exhibit on the field and in the cabinet.*

12. But the injustice itself needed a pretext; and if this was found in the support of foreign claims, the need of foreign alliances followed. In this lay the tacit confession of weakness. A power, which wishes to become the mistress of the rest, may renounce its pretensions, when it wants ability to execute them from its own resources. Allies will soon desert it; and of this France had to make bitter trials. In none of the great preceding wars, had there been such a change of alliances, for never had the allies been less accordant in their respective views. And what member of the confederacy except France, could have seriously wished or even hoped for the entire dissolution of the Austrian monarchy?

13. It is not strange, therefore, that France should have immediately found many and powerful allies, since the prospect of gain was too alluring. Her attention was now directed above all towards Bavaria, her ally in the former war of succession, in order to have a candidate for the imperial crown. But the elector, Charles Albert, discovered, moreover, that he had in reality a right to

* Mémoires pour servir à l' histoire de l' Europe dépuis 1740 jusqu' à 1748. III Voll. 8vo. 1752. (par Mr. De Spohn). Written entirely to favor the interest of France.

the whole Austrian monarchy. Spain also made the same discovery for itself; and Saxony soon after found that the Pragmatic Sanction could have no validity, and that its rights were the next. Thus Europe witnessed the singular spectacle of three powers, each of which claimed the whole, uniting with France, which itself had no farther pretence, than a wish to vindicate the rights of all.

The claims of Bavaria were founded on a will of the emperor Ferdinand I. of which the original did not contain, what it was said to do.—Those of Spain were founded on a very erudite genealogy; on a compact between Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, at the abdication of the German countries; and a proviso of Philip III. at his renunciation of the Austrian succession 1617.—Those of Saxony were founded on the rights of the wife of Augustus III. as the eldest daughter of Joseph I.—A secret league was concluded at Nymphenburg, 18th May, 1741, between France, Bavaria, and Spain, to which Saxony also acceded 19th of September.

14. Under these circumstances, Frederic II. considered it judicious to join the confederacy against Austria; and Prussia became, for the first time, the ally of France. But it was soon shown how different were the views of the king from those of the allies. They were to serve him as means for accomplishing his schemes; and though he joined them, it was with the tacit stipulation, that he should withdraw himself as soon as his own convenience should permit. 1741. 1st Nov.

15. Maria Theresa, who adopted her husband as her colleague, (without however imparting to him any great share in the government) thus saw more than half of Europe in alliance against herself;

and had but little reason to hope for foreign aid. England was already in open war with Spain; and in Sweden, foreign policy had taken advantage of the tumult of factions to involve it in a war with Russia (see below). The only remaining hope depended on her own strength; and this hope was by no means invigorated, either by the loss of the imperial crown, or the election of Charles VII. of Bavaria, or by the general course of the war. Charles VII. gained but little by the imperial diadem, but Austria lost a great deal.

1742. 24th Jan.

A union of the French army under Belleisle with the Bavarian, took place in Sept. 1741; they penetrated into Upper Austria, which however was soon freed, and Bohemia, and in connexion with the Saxons, conquered Prague 26th Nov. where Charles VII. received homage as king of Bohemia 19th Dec. as also Frederic II. in Silesia, which was now wholly conquered. A second French army under Maillebois, in Westphalia, preserved the neutrality of the maritime powers. On this account, a treaty was made with George II. 27th Sept. 1741.

16. But the damage, threatening the Austrian monarchy, did not allow England to remain a quiet spectator, notwithstanding the Spanish war. The voice of the people demanded, too loudly, an active participation, to be satisfied with mere subsidies. Could it, without forsaking its whole former policy, have refused assistance to its first ally on the continent? Walpole was not adapted for such stormy times; he yielded his place to the more vehement Carteret, of which occurrence, active measures for rendering assistance were the result. Thus, after the alliance of Spain

1742. 24th Jan.

with France, the Spanish war necessarily coincided with the German, different as they may have been in their origin. The British subsidies already found access to Sardinia.

A treaty for subsidies had been previously concluded between England and Austria, 24th June 1741.—A British-German army was now collected in the Netherlands, and at the same time subsidies were sent to Sardinia, which bound itself by an agreement 1st Feb. 1742, to procure the neutrality of Italy.

17. But before the end of the year, the confederacy against Austria fell asunder, when Frederic II. retired. He was in possession of Silesia; and the victory at Czaslau defeated all the hopes of recovering it from him. He concluded at Breslau his separate peace, to which Saxony also acceded. 17th May.

Peace between Prussia and Austria was concluded at Breslau 11th June, and ratified at Berlin 28th July, 1742. The conditions were *a*. Renunciation of all alliances, which were opposed to peace. *b*. Maria Theresa resigns to Prussia all of Upper and Lower Silesia, and the county of Glaz. *c*. The principality of Teschen, with some contiguous districts of Upper Silesia, still remained to Austria.

18. By thus ridding itself of one of its most powerful enemies, Austria acquired a great superiority over the others. Bohemia was retaken; even Bavaria was conquered; and the emperor Charles VII. compelled to betake himself to flight; and the British-German army having gained, next year, the victory at Dettingen, the French were not only driven back beyond the Rhine, but Austria and England succeeded in obtaining two new allies, in the king of Sardinia in Italy, and in 1743.

Germany in the elector of Saxony. The British troops having landed in the Netherlands, the republic agreed, at the request of England, to raise an auxiliary body for Austria.

Bohemia was subdued and the French army besieged in Prague, June 1742, and after the city had been evacuated by Belleisle, possession was taken of it by Maria Theresa, whose coronation took place there. Bavaria was occupied May, 1743. A victory was obtained by the Pragmatic army at Dettingen, 27th June, and an alliance made at Worms with the king of Sardinia 13th Sept. and with Saxony 20th Dec. 1743.

19. But France, far from thinking of peace, especially as Fleury, the friend of peace, was dead, now ceased to appear the mere auxiliary of her allies, but declared war directly against both Austria and England.

1743. 29th Jan.

So long as France and England waged the war as auxiliaries merely, it had not extended either to the sea or to the colonies, as now happened. A naval victory was gained by the British over the Spanish-French fleet, before Toulon, 24th Feb. 1744. This battle occasioned the declaration of war against England 15th March, against Austria 27th of April, an alliance, offensive and defensive, having been already concluded, 25th Oct. 1743, at Fontainebleau, between France and Spain.

20. The allies having thus the superiority, Frederic II. resolved anew on war. Honor appeared to demand, that he should prevent the utter ruin of the emperor, who had escaped by flight, and in whose election he had participated. But a stronger motive than honor, was the fear of losing Silesia, if Austria, now leagued with Saxony, should be victorious. He therefore again entered into con-

nexions with France and the empire. He found an easy access, for he was needed; notwithstanding his maxims in alliances were no longer a secret.

A second alliance was made between Prussia and France, March 1744; and soon after, the union at Frankfurt, 22d May, with Charles VII., the Palatinate, and Hesse-Cassel.

21. By this second Silesian war, therefore, the contest acquired new life; for Frederic II. invaded Bohemia, though without success, while France, freed thereby from the Austrians along the upper Rhine, breathed more freely; and Charles VII. survived long enough to return to his capital. But his death, which ensued soon after, seemed necessarily to produce an entire change in the situation of affairs; his son and successor, Maximilian Joseph, willingly renounced his claims on the imperial crown, in return for his hereditary territories. 1745. 20th Jan.

Peace was made at Füssen between Austria and Bavaria, 22d April, 1745. The conditions were: 1. Austria restored to Bavaria all its conquests. 2. The elector promised Francis Stephen his vote at the imperial election.

22. The only result of this secession of Bavaria was, that the interior of Germany ceased to be the theatre of the war; and Austria, though opposed by Brandenburg, succeeded in obtaining the imperial crown for Francis I. France still prosecuted the war,—it is difficult to say, for what purpose.—But in the death of the emperor, Frederic II. saw a motive to peace, so soon as he had secured to himself Silesia. This security was strengthened by repeated victories and the convention with England at Hanover; and before the 1745. 13th Sept.

end of the year, he entered, for the second time, into a separate peace for himself; without demanding more than in the former case.

A victory was achieved by the king over the Austrians and Saxons, under Charles of Lorrain, at Hohenfriedberg, 4th June, 1745. A convention was held at Hanover 26th August, by which England offered itself as the guarantee of Silesia. But to impel Austria to accept it, needed the new victories of the king over the Austrians, at Sorr, 30th Sept. and of the prince of Dessau over the Saxons at Kesselsdorf 15th December. Peace was concluded at Dresden, 25th Dec. between Prussia on the one hand, and Austria and Saxony on the other, according to the basis of the convention at Hanover. Conditions: *a.* The possession of Silesia was confirmed, according to the peace of Breslau. *b.* Frederic II. recognized Francis I. as emperor. *c.* Saxony paid Prussia a million rix dollars.

23. On the other hand, the war of France and her other allies was carried on in the Netherlands and Italy with the greatest energy; and a descent of Charles Edward, son of the pretender in Scotland, which succeeded at first beyond expectation, was resorted to. In a foreigner, France found the general she needed; the victories of the marshal of Saxony in the Netherlands opened to her an outlet from the labyrinth, which the presence of the king with the army had not disclosed to her.

The marshal of Saxony had been engaged in the service from 1745. He gained a victory at Fontenai, in the presence of Louis XV., 11th May, over Cumberland. He made a winter campaign, and conquered Brussels and Brabant, Feb. 1746. The progress of the Pretender recalled Cumberland, and the best of the British troops, to England, till the victory of Cumberland at Culloden, 27th April, put an end to the insurrection.—Meanwhile, the French were mak-

ing progress in the Netherlands, and the Marshal of Saxony was victorious at Raucoux over duke Charles, 11th Oct. and 2d June of the following year 1747, over Cumberland, at Laffield.*

24. During these latter years, Italy also became, for the first time, a principal scene of contest. The hopes of Elizabeth to conquer in that country a kingdom for D. Philip, her younger son, had directed thither from the very beginning, the eyes of Spain; but the king of Sardinia's espousal of the cause of Austria, at the impulse of England, and the British dominion of the Mediterranean, opposed the progress of the power of the Bourbons; and the final conquest of Lombardy, after Genoa had concurred, was of short duration, so soon as Austria was left at liberty by the peace of Dresden.

The Spanish troops made a descent on Italy as early as Nov. 1741, (which Don Philip then commanded,) in order to conquer Milan with the aid of Naples. But Sardinia entered into a compact with Austria, Feb. 1, 1742, respecting the reservation of its own claims on Milan. Naples was forced to preserve a neutrality by a British fleet. Don Philip was reinforced, 1743, by a French army. By the treaty at Worms, 13th Sept. a union was concluded between Sardinia and England and Austria; the Bourbon troops were

* Lettres et Mémoires du Maréchal de Saxe. 5 Voll. Paris. 1794.

Mémoires sur les campagnes des pays-bas en 1745, 1746 et 1747 (par S. A. le prince regnant de Waldeck), publiés par A. H. L. Heeren. Goettingue. 1803. From the papers of Charles Frederic, prince of Waldeck, commander of the Dutch auxiliary troops.—By means of these accounts of both parties, few campaigns have been rendered so clear as this. The insignificance of his foes contributed, indeed, to the greatness of the Marshal.

repelled in Oct., and a fruitless attempt was made to conquer Piedmont. But Genoa joined the Bourbon courts 29th June, 1745; and Milan and Parma were captured. The Austrians, however, 1746, were strengthened by new forces since the peace of Dresden. The French were repulsed, the Spaniards forced to retreat from Lombardy, and Genoa was taken by the Austrians, 5th Sept. The invasion of Provence failed, after the loss of Genoa, by reason of the insurrection there, 5th Dec. Genoa was heroically defended, and relieved by French aid, April 1747 to June.

25. So protracted a contest had given passion time to cool. By the death of Philip V. of Spain, France saw herself deserted by this ally; her weak navy was almost annihilated; her colonies in the two Indies were captured, or menaced. She hoped, however, to effect a separation of her enemies, as she was superior in the Netherlands, by a violent attack on the republic. The restoration of hereditary stadtholders was the result of this attack. But France was now threatened by a new and powerful enemy, when Austria induced Russia to engage in the war, and a Russian auxiliary army poured down upon the Rhine.

1746. 9th July.

War was declared by France against the Republic, 17th April; an attack was made on Dutch-Brabant, and Bergen-op-zoom was taken 16th Sept. 1747.—A defensive alliance was concluded between Austria and Russia, 12th June; and a subsidiary contract of Russia with England, 30th Nov.

26. These circumstances led to the opening of a congress at Aix la Chapelle; but France did not forget its ancient policy of separating the allies. The siege of Mastrichts and the threatened demolition of Bergen-op-zoom, and the apprehension of a separate peace with Austria,

1748. 15th April.

soon occasioned separate preliminaries with the maritime powers; and these, Austria, with the other allies, was soon compelled to adopt.

Congress opened at Aix la Chapelle, April 1748. Preliminaries were concluded between France and the maritime powers, 30th April, to which Austria acceded 25th May. The negotiations however were protracted through the summer, by reason of the advances of the Russians, which were terminated by a special convention 2d August. A definitive peace was formed at Aix la Chapelle, between France and the maritime powers, to which Spain, Austria, Genoa and Sardinia, immediately acceded. Conditions: 1. Mutual restitution of the respective conquests made by France and England. (To France Cape Breton, to England Madras, to the republic, the, mostly dismantled, frontier fortresses). Nothing was done respecting the contested boundaries of Canada and Nova Scotia. 2. Resignation of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla, in favor of Don Philip and his male posterity, with the condition of a reversion. 3. Sardinia obtained the portions of Milan, resigned 1743. 4. The *assiento* treaty of 1713 is confirmed to England for the four still remaining years. (An acquittal from its obligations was afterwards purchased by the treaty at Buen Retiro, Oct. 5, 1750.) 5. Dunkirk remained fortified on the land side. 6. Guaranty of Silesia and Glatz, in favor of Frederic, from all claimants. 7. Guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction in favor of Austria. 8. Guaranty of the British succession and of the German states, in favor of the house of Hanover.

The most important ambassadors to the congress of Aix la Chapelle, were: for France, the Count of St. Severin and la Porte du Theil. For Great Britain, Earl of Sandwich. For Austria, the Count of Kaunitz-Rietberg. For the republic, Count Bentinc, de Wassenaar, de Haren, etc. For Spain, Don de Lima. For Sardinia, Don Ossorio. For Genoa, Marquis Doria.

27. Thus an end was put, by this peace, to the project of overthrowing the existing system of Europe, by the dismemberment of Austria. It lost Silesia, Parma and Paicenza; but it kept its station in the rank of the first powers; and it gained in a short time, a rich compensation for its losses, by a better use of its vast internal resources.

28. But the consequences of this war were important, not merely for the single states; it was yet more so for their mutual relations; and in a short time, produced in them a revolution, from which the foundations of this system received the first great shock.

29. At the first glance, it might appear, that Europe had in reality been restored by this peace to its former relations. France and Austria stood in rivalry, as the leading powers of the continent. England had renewed its ancient connexions with Austria, and contributed essentially towards its preservation; and even the union of Austria and Russia was not now contracted for the first time.

30. And yet how much was changed during the war, and was still more changed, afterwards? The continental policy of Britain, in as far as it aimed at the preservation of the existing political system, was, in its object, highly salutary for Europe; but the measures adopted for effecting this, were not equally so. On land, England waged the war, more by subsidies than by its real strength. The old ties of continental relations were renewed; and states, not only of the second, but also of the first rank, were subsidized, and among these, not only the oppressed Austria, but even Russia. Thus

England purchased the direction of the war, and thence also the direction of the peace. In the years, immediately subsequent, to what length did it not carry the ideas it entertained of its obligation and ability to direct the affairs of the continent? But from the dominion of the sea, now acquired for the first time, far more important consequences were to be developed, which cannot however be made plain, till the following sections.

31. It was a new phenomenon to see Russia, not merely mingling in the contests of the west, but in a certain degree, deciding their issue. Although this interference went, this time, no farther than a demonstration, the bonds were here contracted, which were never parted. We see the proofs of this, in the next great war in Europe.

32. But the chief, the most essential change, resulting from this war to the political system of Europe, was effected by the entrance of Prussia into the number of the leading powers of this portion of the world. At no time, could such a leading power rise up, self-existent and independent, without a great change in political relations. It will not stand alone; and if it seeks friends and allies, can this be without influence on the former connexions of the rest?

33. And it lies in the nature of things, that such a new power should not be regarded by the old, with a friendly eye. Where was the aspirant, that was ever cherished by ancient despots? It was with sensations of bitterness, that Fleury appointed Frederic II. the umpire of Europe. Frederic withdrew from the war, without a single friend.

And he had given himself no pains, to acquire permanent friends. His method of contracting and dissolving alliances, was not the course to effect this; and the independence, he manifested, receives our approbation, only because the manner in which he maintained it, extorts our admiration.

34. But how much more was this new power unfavorably received, since it rested its greatness on conquest? The resigning of countries of much larger extent, to Spain and the Porte, in the peace of Vienna and Belgrade, had been only a loss to Austria; the renunciation of Silesia was at the same time a mortification; the former might demand compensation, the latter called for revenge. It was soon seen, that only in the hope of this the peace had been closed.

35. Even the season of peace, therefore, must have been a season of strong variance; not only for Prussia, whose support was arms, but also for the other powers. The possession of Silesia was the leading object of practical politics; and, for this very reason, Austria and Prussia must have appeared the chief nations of the continent. While their relations set the rest of Europe in agitation, with their fate, its own was intertwined. The new rivalry had wrought in them the most incessant vigilance, the most vigorous activity; and those states will always become predominant, which can claim such praise.

36. Still Austria was perfectly sensible, that in order to subvert Prussia, allies were necessary. But with the feelings, then prevailing among the courts, there could the less be any want of these,

since Frederic II. was so little able to refrain from irritating the frivolous passions of the potentates. The close relations of Austria with Russia and Saxony, had not ceased after the peace of Aix-la Chapelle; from the personal hatred of the empress Elizabeth, and in Saxony, from that of the ruling minister, Count Brühl, it was not difficult to maintain these relations; and measures were secretly concerted—not so secretly however, that Frederic II. did not discover them—for a common attack, as soon as all things should be in readiness.

37. Important for Austria as these connexions were, a leading power remained in France, which, in case of a renewed war, would probably, in accordance with its former relations, take up arms on the side of Prussia; and how uncertain, in such case, would be the issue? Under these circumstances an alliance with France was the earnest desire of Austria; but with little prospect that the wish could ever be realized.

38. Austria, however, found the man, who not only embraced, but executed this idea; and built his own greatness on its accomplishment. Under four reigns, Prince Kaunitz was the soul of the Austrian cabinet, or rather, raised to the dignity of chancellor of the court and state, he almost alone constituted this cabinet. Contrasted with Frederic, he appeared, in almost every thing, the very reverse of him; but while the statesman lay concealed under the outward appearance of the Sybarite, his natural indolence, joined to his great diplomatic talents, conceived in private, those bold projects, which he, generally acting in secret, but

1753.

well acquainted with all the byways of cabinet policy, suffered others to execute, rather than take the trouble to execute them himself.*

39. And what was it impossible to accomplish in France, after Louis XV. had become the slave of his mistresses? Already under his predecessors, Europe had seen mistresses and their influence, 1746. to 1764. but never a government of mistresses like that of the Marchioness of Pompadour. Since the remnants of ancient principles had been banished with the ancient ministers, an adroit diplomatist,—especially a Kaunitz—need despair of nothing. Had there been no other reason, novelty itself had a charm.

Since the death of Fleury 1743, the French ministry had never been able to acquire any solidity; and least of all, the bureau of foreign affairs, which Louis XV. as usual, believed himself competent to conduct, till his mistress exempted him from this care also. After the retirement of her favorite, the Abbé Bernis, he was succeeded, from 1757 to 1770, by de Choiseul-Stainville, a native of Lorrain, who showed the world, that a mistaken policy may be united with great talents. His cousin, Choiseul-Praslin, directed under him, from 1761, the department of foreign affairs.

40. Thus Kaunitz, who proceeded to France in 1750. Dec. person, as ambassador extraordinary, contrived the project, which, he, placed at the 1775. head of the cabinet after his return, left for

* We yet want—even after Von Hormayr's valuable sketch in the Austrian Plutarch, B. 12.—a full biography of the enigmatical man, who, after Frederic, had the strongest influence on the politics of his time. The works of Flassan and Rulhiere as well as of Coxe, contain contributions to such an undertaking, besides the Characteristics in the Journal Jason, August 1808.

his successor Staremberg, to execute. To rule Europe in common, provided Frederic II. should be overthrown, was the prospect, which the Austrian policy held out to France. What could have been the probable result of Frederic's ruin, but the oppression of the weaker, and, with Austria's predominance in Germany, the subversion of the freedom of the system of European states?

The first league of amity and defence between France and Austria was concluded 1st May, 1756, by Bernis, preceded by a simultaneous compact of neutrality on the side of the empress in the war, just breaking out between England and France, by which compact Austria renounced, therefore, her connexion with England. During the seven years' war, in an agreement, subscribed in May, 1757, though not ratified, definite resolutions were adopted with respect to the division of the Prussian monarchy; Silesia was to fall to Austria, Pomerania to Sweden, Magdeburg, etc. to Saxony, the Netherlands in return for Parma and Piacenza to Don Philip, etc.—The treaty of alliance was finally renewed and enlarged 30th Dec. 1758, by Choiseul. They engaged to afford mutual aid with all their forces; and never to make peace, except in common.

41. The advantages of this connexion were, therefore, altogether on the side of Austria; for what could France gain from assisting to ruin the enemy of Austria, but the honor of participating in the future dominion of Europe, as far as Austria would permit? But not in this mistake does an enlightened policy detect the principal error of France; it consists in the circumstance, that this connexion was a disavowal of her political character; and no power can do this with impunity. As the opponent of Austria, she had for two centuries,

maintained her high rank among the continental powers; what remained to her, on becoming Austria's armor bearer?

With respect to its consequences, the alliance of Austria and France must be contemplated from two points of view. 1. For the single states. The gain of Austria, and the loss of France, are here manifest. 2. For the political system of Europe. The averting of the dangers, which threatened it, and the later advantages, were accidental; because the principal object, the destruction of Frederic, was failed of. A merely defensive alliance, such as Bernis wished it to be, might have been justified by the necessity of keeping in readiness to encounter England; but could a merely defensive alliance have existed under the circumstances of the times?

b. From the alliance between France and Austria, to the peace at Paris and Hubertsburg, 1756—1763.

42. This great transformation of the European political system, which shook it to its foundations, would alone have been sufficient to excite a mighty war, as it took place at a time when an attack on Prussia had been already concerted. But on another side, materials had been a long time collecting for a war, which, though different in its origin, could not but be amalgamated with the former, and had its foundation in the colonial relations of England and France.

43. England, having succeeded for the first time, during the former war, in annihilating the navy of her enemy, was little inclined to permit her rival to recover, who was now rebuilding her fleets with remarkable energy. The former amicable relations with France, had retarded the eruption of the rivalry between the governments. This now in-

creased in the same measure with foreign commerce, which was again connected with the colonies. The unhappy consequences of the want of geographical certainty in these colonies, were now displayed in all their vigor. Perpetual collisions and altercations followed each other; and even had the point of contest at that time been settled—as was perhaps possible—by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, can we doubt that others would have soon arisen? With this, British policy united the new method of procedure; whenever she did not receive immediate satisfaction for the injuries of which she complained on land, to take for herself satisfaction on the sea and begin the war, even before it was declared.

The contested points between England and France were: 1. Respecting the boundaries of Nova Scotia, which had been resigned in the peace of Utrecht according to its ancient boundaries (see Vol. I. p. 253); since England counted with it New Brunswick also. 2. Respecting the building of forts along the Ohio, in order to connect Louisiana and Canada; this England would not permit, since she had forts there already. Hostilities were commenced 1754 and 1755, by the mutual seizure of forts. 3. Respecting the occupation of the neutral islands of the Antilles, Tabago, St. Vincent, Dominique and St. Lucia by the French, contrary to former agreements. 5. Besides these, there was the emulation, now arisen in the East Indies on Coromandel. The English commenced violence, in retaliation, by the capture of several merchantmen and two ships of the line, 10th June, 1755.

44. To such a degree of importance had the commercial and colonial interest now risen, that remote wastes and islands became the occasion of

a war, which necessarily spread over all quarters of the world, and the cost and issue of which, no one could calculate. But the British navy was superior to the French, even before the war, and the hopes, to which this gave rise, were one of the strongest motives to it.

War upon France was declared by Britain 15th May, 1756. The enterprise of the French against Minorca was successful, and the duke of Richelieu made himself master of Port Mahon 29th June.

45. But at the time of the commencement of this maritime war, the combinations against Prussia had advanced so far, that a war with Austria and her allies was now inevitable. But when Austria, abandoning her connexion with England, attached herself to France, an avenue was opened to an alliance between Prussia and England; the more so, since George II. believed this the only way to gain for his German territories security against France, which Russia, as the ally of Austria, could not afford. Accordingly the two wars were resolved into one; but, before their termination, were again separated and concluded by distinct treaties of peace.

Nothing but such an entire revolution could have brought about a union between the houses of Hanover and Brandenburg, which had almost always been at variance. The first treaty was made at Whitehall, 15th Jan. 1756, for the maintenance of neutrality in Germany, by which the compact of neutrality between France and Austria (see above) was hastened. They established an alliance by the convention of the 11th Jan. 1757. England was promised 20,000 auxiliaries, in consideration of a million subsidies.

46. Though the first Silesian war had been an offensive one on the side of Frederic, the seven years' war, notwithstanding he first drew the sword, was a defensive one. The laurels he gained are the more imperishable, the less he was the favorite of fortune. The formidable coalition against him, derived its strength from the petty passions of the rulers; this made it indissoluble till the death of Elizabeth. But even Frederic's connexion with England, presents a peculiar appearance; closely allied, they yet almost never acted in common. William Pitt pursued his path, and Frederic his; both however conducted to the same end; and provided they met there, what need was there of their uniting on the road?

The ministry of William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, continued from the 20th of Oct. 1756 to 5th Oct. 1761. What five years! By the greatness of his own character, he elevated the spirit of his nation; for he was the first to breathe into it a confidence in itself.*

47. The war began on land, by Frederic's invading Saxony, where he found the proofs of the designs of his enemies. 1756. Aug.

According to Frederic's manifesto, the preliminary treaty, concluded 18th May 1745, respecting the division of the Prussian territories, had remained, even after the peace of Dresden, 25th Dec., the basis of the negotiations between Vienna, Saxony and Russia. A defensive treaty was shortly after concluded on 22d May 1746, at Petersburg, with four secret articles against Prussia, to which Saxony was disposed to accede, as soon as circumstances should admit.

* Life of William Pitt. 2 Voll. 4to. 1780. Of but moderate value.

The plan of attack is said to have been matured in Petersburg, about the end of the year 1755.*

Frederic invaded Saxony August 1756, took Dresden, and blocked up the Saxon army at Pirna, Sept. A victory was gained over the Austrians at Lowositz 1st Oct. and the Saxons capitulated 15th Oct.

48. Under existing relations, the eruption of the war placed the allies of Saxony, Austria, Russia and France under the necessity of immediately taking up arms. But the German empire was induced by the influence of Austria, and Sweden by that of France, to join the coalition: and thus more than half of Europe rose in opposition to Frederic.

War was declared by the empire against Prussia, 17th Jan. 1757. A convention was made with Sweden by the allies, 21st May, under the pretence of guaranteeing the peace of Westphalia, and the promise of receiving Pomerania.

49. But fortunately for Frederic, France resolved to make war upon England in Hanover, which was thus forced, together with Hesse and Brunswick, to become the active assistant of Frederic. Even small states can at times sustain a glorious contest with the more powerful, when favored by circumstances. Perhaps the most splendid example of this, that history ever witnessed, was given, after the right man became the leader of the allies, in the person of Duke Ferdinand, the pupil of Frederic.

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* Recueil des deductions, manifestes, traités, etc. qui ont été rédigés et publiés pour la cour de Prusse dépuis 1756 jusqu'à 1778 par le Comte de Herzeberg à Berlin. III Voll. contains the state papers of this and the following periods.

A French army advanced against Hanover under d'Etrées; and gained a victory over the duke of Cumberland at Hastenbek 26th July, 1757. Hanover was occupied and a convention made with Richelieu at Kloster Zeven, Sept. 8th, but abrogated Sept. 26th. The duke Ferdinand received the command.

50. In the whole history of the world, we shall find, perhaps, no spectacle more instructive for the tactician, and more sublime for the observer of human nature, than the conduct of the seven years' war by Frederic. But on the contrary, the political historian finds less to engage him, since, till near its end, there occurred no change of political relations; and Frederic, contending with his apparently inexorable destiny, was compelled to make the object of his undertakings, the maintaining of Silesia and Saxony, and the greatest possible protection of the heart of his territories. The more remote provinces, and even Prussia itself, he was obliged to abandon.

The principal events of the seven years' war, were: the invasion of Bohemia, 1757, and victory at Prague over Charles of Lorrain, 6th May; the siege of Prague; but, on the other hand, the evacuation of Bohemia, after the defeat at Collin, 18th of June. The French and imperial armies having advanced under Soubise, were beaten at Rossbach Nov. 5th. Silesia was reconquered by the victory at Leuthen Dec. 5th.—On the other hand, a defeat was sustained at Gross-Jagerndorf by the Russians under Aprarin Aug. 30th, who made, however, no improvement of the victory.—A fruitless attack was made in the year 1758 (May) on Olmutz. The Russians again advanced under Fermor. A battle took place at Zorndorf, 25th Aug. Thus Brandenburg was protected, and at the same time, the Swedes repulsed. A defeat was suffered

at Hochkirchen by Daun Oct. 14th. Still Silesia was maintained and the siege of Neisse raised, Nov. 5th.—1759. The Russians reinforced by Austrians under Laudon again advanced. The king suffered a severe defeat at Kunersdorf Aug. 12th, and met with ill fortune at Maxen, Nov. 20th. Yet Frederic sunk not under these reverses.—1760. Dresden was besieged without effect, July.—A fight took place at Liegnitz, Aug. 15th, and Silesia was maintained. A battle took place at Torgau, Nov. 3d, by which he was enabled to maintain Saxony.—1761. The king carried on a defensive war against the combined armies, Aug. and Sept. Schweidnitz was conquered by Loudon Oct. 1st.*

51. During these years, one flank of the king had always been covered by the victories of Ferdinand. What must have been his probable fate, had the French armies advanced from the west, with as little impediment as the Russians from the east?

After the abrogation of the convention of Kloster Zeven, a winter campaign was made by duke Ferdinand, and the French were compelled to evacuate Hanover, 1757.—1758. The duke crossed the Rhine and achieved a victory at Crefeld June 23d. A union was made with the British troops. —1759. A victory was gained at Minden over Contades Aug. 1st.—twelve days before Frederic's defeat at Kunersdorf.—From this time a continual superiority was maintain-

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* Histoire de la guerre de sept ans, in the Oeuvres posthumes de Frederic II. T. III. IV. Berlin. 1788.

Von Tempelhoff Geschichte des siebenjährigen Kriegs, 5 Bde. Berlin. 1794. Purely military.

Von Archenholz Geschichte des siebenjährigen Kriegs, 2 Thle. 1792.

Warnery Campagnes de Frederic II. 1788.

Geständnisse eines Oestreichischen Veterans, in Hinsicht auf die Verhältnisse zwischen Oestreich und Preussen etc. Th. I.—IV. 1788. fol.

ed, 1760 and 1761, and the greater part of Hanover was protected.*

52. In the mean while, the war extended itself no less on the ocean, and to the two Indies. The superiority of Britain on the sea was soon determined; and thus a way was opened to the conquest of the colonies. In North America the war was, at first, nothing more than the continuation of ancient hostilities; but France was in a short time deprived of all Canada, by a decisive battle. In the West Indies and Africa, the most important settlements became the spoils of the English; and Pondichery in the East Indies. With this, French commerce was at the same time destroyed; and of how great consequence were colonies then considered!

Cape Breton was taken July 1758, and shortly after Canada in 1759, by the victory of General Wolf, at Quebec, Sept. 13th.—A naval victory was gained at Brest, under Hawke, Nov. 20th.—In the West Indies, Gaudeloupe was taken 1st of May,—Martinique Feb. 1762, and shortly after Grenada, St. Lucie and St. Vincent.—In the East Indies, Pondichery, Jan. 16th 1762.—On the coasts of Africa, the British made themselves masters of Senegal and Gorea, 1758.

53. Thus the war was prosecuted without any change of political relations—even the death of George II. produced no immediate change— till the last year but one, when two deaths in the farthest East and West of Europe were followed by revolutions, important, and in some respects, very remarkable. With the empress Elizabeth, died the most violent enemy of Frederic; and with her nephew Peter III. his enthu- 1760. 25th Oct. 1762. Jan. 5th.

*V. Mauvillon Geschichte des Herzogs Ferdinand Von Braunschweig. 1790. 2 Theile.

siastic admirer ascended the throne. Not only a separate peace, which was immediately succeeded by a peace with Sweden, but even an alliance were its results; and Europe beheld the spectacle, which she never before witnessed, an army leaving its allies, and advancing to the encampments of its enemies, to fight on their side.

1. A truce was established March 16th, and a peace May 15th, between Russia and Prussia: a mutual restitution was made of all conquests, and a disavowal of all inimical connexions. The separate articles provided for the establishment of an alliance.—2. Peace was concluded between Sweden and Prussia at Hamburg, May 22d, by which matters were restored to their ancient footing.

54. The overthrow of Peter III., which soon ensued, threatened to destroy these new relations; but Catharine II. preserved the neutrality, and this was probably of more advantage to Frederic than an alliance would have been; for much was gained, so soon as one leading power gave the example of moderation and reflection. The victorious campaign of the year achieved the rest.

1762. July 9th

A battle was gained by the king at Burkersdorf, July 21st, and by Prince Henry at Freiburg Oct. 29th.

55. On the other hand, the war became, in this same year, more widely prevalent in the west of Europe; Spain, and soon after Portugal also, being drawn into it. The neutrality of Spain had continued uninterrupted, so long as Ferdinand VI. reigned. But after Elizabeth had survived his death long enough to see her son Charles III. leave the throne of Naples to ascend that of Spain, French influence obtained the predominance

1759.

at Madrid, and France, after so many distresses, hoped to gain a compensation for her losses and an increase of power by this connexion, by rendering it a general union of the branches of the house of Bourbon. This was the origin of the Family Compact, the stipulations of which necessarily involved Spain in immediate war. But a power, in the full career of its victories, like Great Britain, at that time, is not to be checked by one new enemy. Spain was obliged to make a dear atonement, and under such circumstances it was even an advantage for England, that Portugal was implicated. An important though accidental consequence of it, was the secession of Pitt from the ministry.

The Family Compact of the Bourbons was secretly concluded, first between France and Spain, Aug. 15th 1761, with the assumed accession of Naples and Parma. All the possessions of both parties were mutually guaranteed; and an alliance offensive and defensive, was established forever.—Pitt retired from the ministry Oct. 5th, as the cabinet refused to anticipate Spain, by an immediate declaration of war.—War against Spain was actually declared, Jan. 4th, 1762. Havana was taken by Pocock Aug. 11th, and Manilla capitulated 6th Oct.—The attack of Spain on Portugal, unattended by any important actions, occasioned a reform in the military department of the country, under William, count of Lippe Bückeburg, one of the heroes of the seven years' war.

56. The union between Prussia and England, marked by an almost continual succession of victories till near the end of the war, was to be dissolved before its complete termination. England had reached its object. The navy of France was annihilated; almost all her colonies were in

its own hands; and the peaceful tone of public sentiment, previously excited by the increase of the national debt, and the aversion to the continental war, had grown stronger since Pitt's retirement from the ministry. The offers of France were soon followed by preliminaries, which were changed into a separate peace; without any stipulation in favor of Frederic II. farther than the neutrality of France. Well might Frederic complain, but had he not himself been the master in this policy?

Preliminary negotiations were entered upon by the Duc de Nivernois in London, and the duke of Bedford in Paris. Preliminaries were concluded at Fontainebleau Nov. 3d, 1762, between England on the one side and France and Spain on the other, changed into a definitive peace at Paris, Feb. 10th, 1763. Conditions: *a.* Between France and England. 1. France renounced all claims to Nova Scotia, and resigned Canada with Cape Breton to England. 2. She retains a share in the fisheries of Newfoundland with the islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon, but without fortifications. 3. The Mississippi should constitute the boundary between the British colonies and Louisiana. 4. In the West Indies, France yielded Grenada to England, which also retained the formerly neutral islands, St. Vincent, Dominique and Tabago; the other conquests were restored. 6. In Africa, Senegal was resigned to England, in consideration of the restitution of Gorée. 7. In the East Indies, France recovered all that it had possessed in the beginning of 1749, Pondichery also, in consideration of the renunciation of all conquests, afterwards made there. 8. In Europe: England regained Minorca. 9. Hanover was vacated, and the allied states left in their former situation. 10. All French troops were withdrawn from the empire; and neutrality was promised in the Prussian-Austrian war. *b.* Between Spain and Eng-

land. 1. Spain resigned to England the Floridas, (for which France declared herself ready to concede Louisiana in a separate contract; which was not fulfilled till 1769). 2. In return, England restored the conquests made in Cuba and Havana. 3. England retained the right of cutting log-wood in the bay of Honduras. 4. Portugal was fully restored, and acceded to the peace.

The plenipotentiaries were; for England, the duke of Bedford; for France, the duc de Choiseul; for Spain, the Marquis de Grimaldi.*

57. Prussia, Austria and Saxony were the only powers, that still remained on the field of contest. But what could Austria expect to accomplish by itself, when, besides Frederic's last victories, all her hopes of Silesia were blasted by the conquest of Schweidnitz. No negotiations for peace could be more easy, for neither party coveted aggrandizement or compensation; and Frederic concluded the glorious peace of Hubertsburg, without having lost a foot of territory. Oct. 6th.

The peace of Hubertsburg was concluded, Feb. 15th, 1763. *a.* Between Prussia and Austria. 1. Both parties renounced all claims to the possessions of the other. 2. The peace of Breslau and that of Dresden, were ratified. (In secret separate articles, Prussia promised its electoral vote, in the choice of king of the Romans, to the Archduke Joseph; and its mediation in favor of Austria's expectations on Modena). *b.* Between Prussia and Saxony, matters were restored to their ancient footing.—The German empire had already declared its neutrality, Feb. 11th, and was included in the peace.

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* Oeuvres posthumes du Duc de Nivernois. Paris. 1807. 2 Voll. The letters of the duke during his embassy in England, contain the most important contributions to the history of the negotiation.

The plenipotentiaries at Hubertsburn were ; for Prussia, de Herzberg, for Austria, Von Collenbach, for Saxony, Baron Fritsch.

58. By this war and the peace which terminated it, the system, founded by Frederic, was confirmed by Europe. The two leading continental powers were Prussia and Austria. Russia from its distance, and France from its weakness and dependence on Austria, were both unable to claim this distinction. After their reconciliation, therefore, the relation of the two former, which, though not hostile, admitted no close friendship, formed the centre of the relations of the continent. On it rested, not only the balance of power in Germany, but even that of Europe.

59. The more intimate connexion of the Bourbon courts by means of the family compact appeared, indeed, to have realized the anxieties, that were felt at the time of the Spanish war of succession. But the internal situation of these states, easily quieted them; and experience has shown, how little actual gain France has derived from this connexion, though it involved Spain in wars, in which it had no interest.

60. The union between Great Britain and Prussia was broken by their separate treaties of peace, and a prejudice against the former power took root with Frederic, which seemed never to be eradicated, till near the end of his reign. No important points of collision existed between them on the continent, not even in Hanover; for the maintenance of the imperial constitution of Germany, was an essential part of the system of Frederic.

61. This extinction of the connexion between England and Prussia, tore asunder almost all the ties of the British continental policy. Those only with the republic and Portugal remained. Severed, as it now was from Austria, and its alliance with France, and with nothing more than a commercial connexion with Russia, how could it reunite them, when no common interest existed? The political influence of England on the continent ceased, therefore, altogether; the more so, since the nations were now exclusively occupied by domestic affairs of high importance. Commerce with the continent was secured by amicable relations, and some new commercial treaties; and it was easy to forsee the restoration of its political influence, so soon as new commotions on the continent should render British subsidies necessary.*

62. But much greater consequences, than were then anticipated, were to result to Europe from the use, which England began to make in these wars of its superiority on the ocean. For the second time, it had annihilated the maritime force of its enemies. In order to destroy at the same time their commerce, it began to interdict this, and especially colonial trade, even to the neutrals, under whose flag it was to be carried on. The injuries, which the flag of the neutrals experienced, constituted the basis of the unequal maritime law, which England afterwards in times of war, called its mar-

* Versuch einer historischen Entwickelung des Brittischen Continentalinteresse, in Heeren's miscellaneous historical writings. Th. I. 1821.

itime law, modifying it, according to the criterion of time and circumstances. Similar claims had indeed been previously made by others; but so long as there was no such superior naval force, as the British now was, they could not acquire such practical importance.

The chief contested point was, the right of neutrals, to carry on the colonial trade of a belligerent power under its own flag and on its own account. It was occasioned by the permission, granted by France 1756, to neutrals to trade with its colonies, having itself been deprived of the power. The English maintained the absolute illegality of this trade, and captured neutral ships and neutral property. None but the usual commerce permitted in peace, might still be carried on. The contest, then without important consequences, expired of itself with the return of peace; but the rule of 1756 now became in England a rule for the future; unless when they themselves saw fit to relax it.—Of course, every naval war not only renewed but also enlarged the dispute, since the general question, whether free ships make free goods, was necessarily brought into agitation.

c. From the peace of Paris and Hubertsburg, to the death of Frederic the Great. 1763—1786.*

63. The last treaties of peace gave the west of Europe a fair right to expect a permanent quiet; since no change was made in the ancient and long confirmed state of possessions. And such a period ensued for almost three years, interrupted

* Denkwürdigkeiten meiner Zeit, oder Beitrage zur Gechichte vom letzten Viertel des achtzehnten and vom Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts 1778—1806; von Chr. Wilh. von Dohm. 1814. To the death of the author, five parts which go to the death of Frederic II.—Not a universal history; but a discussion of single important events, partly from his own experience, with unsurpassed exactness and love of truth.

by no important continental war, but rich in the most various results, which, though not all of them political in their nature, reacted on the whole condition of society, and thus again on the state.

64. Various powers were unfolded by the last contests; a spirit of activity, more perhaps than ever before, had been aroused—an activity which peace could not destroy. From its very nature, a new and leading state can only preserve its existence by unremitted exertions and a development of all its powers; and its rival felt the necessity of equal advancement. This feeling was the principal source of political energy; but this activity was characterized by its diversity of character, a consequence of the great increase of that intellectual culture, which is able to see through the mutual relations of the various efforts, and rightly to estimate them. The age comprehended the whole mass of ideas, resulting from this intellectual activity, under the name of intelligence, and required of the state to assist in its promotion. But what was not often comprised under the sacred name!

65. In the time of peace, the activity of the governments was naturally directed towards their internal administration. This was demanded not only by the wounds of war, but also by the ever increasing public deficiencies, for, even in peace, the standing armies were augmented rather than diminished. Finances thus obtained an engrossing importance, which but too easily led to the maxim of considering the increase of the public revenues as the object of all political economy.

The disposition of the rulers and the diversity of constitutions, prevented indeed a general abuse; but the evil was too contagious in its nature, not to spread.

66. Closely connected with this, was the principle of rendering as far as possible, the administration of the state, a mechanical operation; for thus, it was thought, could it be organized most cheaply and commodiously. Even the expression, political machines, became the favorite expression of men in this department. These evils too, operated slowly and not every where equally; but the error, that seeks in forms for the happiness of a state, which can only proceed from the free action of free men, the necessary condition of genuine patriotism, was committed and diffused.

67. From these maxims of internal administration, proceeded a struggle for aggrandizement, which, when prevalent, threatened to overthrow the existing political system. The more the division of territory interfered with the mechanical administration of affairs, the greater value was placed on the compactness of possessions, and it is evident to what this mania for compactness, soon the moving spring of all the projects of the cabinet, must necessarily lead. And where could the danger be greater, than in a system of the most unequal states, such as was that of Europe?

68. Thus the material resources of states gained a more and more exclusive value in the eyes of practical politics; and square miles and population became the measure of prosperity and strength. Never did writers so play, as they then did, into

the hands of those who practiced; what did not the writers in statistics calculate? And what could be more convenient for men of business? On a single sheet, they thought they had before them the whole state!

Is there, in the whole territory of science, one, which was ever degraded into such a senseless, mechanical exercise, as Statistics? Does an enumeration of men and cattle, in short does a dissection of the body politic, constitute the knowledge of a state? Just as well might the anatomist pretend to a knowledge of human nature, because he dissects dead bodies.

69. Although in politics as in political economy, ancient usage continued prevalent, yet the spirit of reasoning got possession of these subjects, and theories were formed, which presented a most striking contrast with the reality. These theories were considered as harmless, because they remained nothing more than theories, and their authors were actuated by no dangerous motives. But are not ideas the ultimate foundation of all human institutions? And is not the downfall of the latter involved in the changes of the former?

70. Public constitutions and legislation first became subjects of investigation. Montesquieu 1749.
was the first to raise them to this elevation; but his work, a critique rather than a system, taught the world to think, without leading it into error. Far different was it, when the most eloquent of all sophists, the citizen of Geneva, erected the 1762.
state on a foundation, on which no existing one was based, and on which in reality, no future state could be built. The unalienable sovereignty of

the people and a state are ideas, practically contradictory; a state begins, where the exercise of the popular sovereignty has been delegated.

Locke indeed had previously become great as a political writer; but his theories harmonized with the constitution of his country. Montesquieu on the contrary, was the eulogist of a foreign, and Rousseau of an ideal constitution, which could not exist without the overthrow of the fundamental pillars of the existing governments.*

71. After the state itself, political economy soon became the object of speculation. The many weak sides, which the mercantile system presented, both when theoretically and practically consid-

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*Two treatises of government; or an essay concerning the true original extract and end of civil government, by J. Locke. London. 1702.

Esprit des Loix par Montesquieu. 6 Voll. 1749.

Le contrat social, par J. J. Rousseau. 1762.

A comparison and estimate of the value of these works is to be found in:

Heeren's Versuch uber die Entstehung, die Ausbildung und den practischen Einfluss der politischen Theorien und die Erhaltung des Monarchischen Princip in dem neuern Europa. Miscellaneous historical writings. Th. I. 1821; where is given an exposition of the incompatibility of the popular sovereignty with the monarchical principle.—The most energetic attempt to confute those theories is in:

Carl Ludw. von Haller Restauration der Staatswissenschaft, oder Theorie des gesellig natürlichen Zustandes; der Chimaire des künstlich bürgerlichen entgegengesetzt. In vier Theilen 1814—1818; the first containing "die Geschichte und Kritik der bisherigen falschen Systeme; und die allgemeinen Grundsätze der entgegengesetzen Ordnung Gottes und der Natur:" the second and third discusses the two classes of monarchies; patrimonial and military states: the fourth, the "most important and difficult part of the whole work," which treats of ecclesiastical states and societies, contains the apology of the Catholic Church and popery.

ered, of themselves challenged attack. The *physiocrats* who undertook it, recalled great truths, 1758. the importance of agriculture, the free application of powers, and hence the freedom of traffic and commerce. By them others were taught to think for themselves, and may not Adam Smith have been formed under their influence? But their system, built on sophism and couched in a new phraseology, was consequently practically useless; and their founder Quesnay was competent to form a sect of theorists, but no school of statesmen. Their doctrines, however, attacked not only political economy, such as it then was, but, by the consequent demand of political equality, the existing governments also; and they appeared the more dangerous, because they, not arguing like Adam Smith respecting a principle of utility, but a principle of absolute right, demanded instead of advising.

It is well known that the doctrines of the *physiocrats* rested on the maxim, that the soil is the only source of wealth; for which reason, this wealth ought to be the sole and immediate source of revenue. In their very first position, in which the elements of national wealth are defined, the doctrine of Adam Smith differs from them, since improvement and traffic are sources of wealth, no less than production. Still this difference was of little practical importance, since even the *physiocrats* by no means pretended to deny the indirect gain derived from improvement, (by an increased susceptibility of production.) But the great practical difference rose, partly, from the second position, or the application of the first to the method of taxation, partly in the farther results of the equality and freedom, to which the system of the *physiocrats* necessarily tended,

and for which it actually contributed much towards preparing the mind.*

72. This new system was, therefore, not the fruit of experience, rising above routine to general views; but of a prevailing propensity to a philosophy, which directed its speculations no less to religion, to morals and to education. It was amused, now with trifles, now with sophisms; but in whatever form it appeared, its aim was the profanation of all that is sacred. Voltaire might deride the popular belief; Diderot, d'Alembert, von Holbach and their confederates inculcate atheism; and Helvetius change morality into a system of egotism; did they not all, however different in other respects, converge to one point? And even the great reform in education, begun by Rousseau, and extolled, as more conformable to nature, had it any other tendency, than the development of the physical man, at the expense of his nobler attributes?

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* Quesnay Tableau Economique. Paris. 1758. Carried farther in :

Physiocratie ; ou constitution naturelle du gouvernement ; publiée par Dupont. Yverdun. 1768.

V. Mauvillion Physiocratische Briefe. 1780.

An Inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations, by Ad. Smith. Lond. 1776. 2 Voll. 4to. Without doubt, the most acute development of the constituents and the sources of the material national wealth ; but for that reason, partial. Bolder views may be found in :

Ad. Müller Elemente der Staatskunst. Berlin. 1809. 3 Thle.

Ueber National Industrie und Staatswirthschaft, nach Ad. Smith bearbeitet von A. F. Lueder. 1800. &c. 3 Thle.

It is well known how much the excellent manuals of Sartorius, Jacob and others have contributed both to the circulation and elucidation of Adam Smith.

The *Encyclopedie*, which had been appearing since 1751, under Diderot's superintendence, and which promoted so widely the diffusion of superficial knowledge, offered to most of these men a literary point of union. Though their exertions were of a literary and not a political nature, their intolerant sectarian spirit,—for is not bitter derision of the opinion of others, intolerance ?—was the more insufferable, the more they were wont to talk of liberality.

73. This revolution of ideas originated in the city, which was regarded as the focus of intellectual culture and taste. Its authors were far from acting so powerfully on foreign countries as on their own; but still how wide was the sphere of their influence? If they did not determine the mode of thinking of the nations, they did at least that of the higher class of society. But above all, their influence was increased by the circumstance, that it was the peculiarity of the age, that the authors themselves were of this class. They were able therefore to act more powerfully, than writers had ever done before.*

74. Under such circumstances, public opinion, guided by writers, acquired a consequence which it would otherwise never have possessed; and those institutions, against which it declared itself, lingered out a very precarious existence. Of this, the order of the Jesuits gave the first great and striking instance. A number of individual causes

* For no age is the knowledge of social relations in general, and especially of those of the scholar and authors, so important for society, as for the present. The most faithful and lively delineation of them as they existed in Paris, is given in:

Mémoires de Marmontel T. I—IV. 1803. An invaluable contribution to the knowledge of the time.

conspired to produce their fall; but these could never have had so strong an effect, had not the contradiction increased, between their institution and the prevailing spirit of the age. Hence they always found their most violent and obstinate antagonists in the very country, where the fraternity reached its highest perfection; and although they were expelled from Portugal somewhat sooner than from France, yet the history of their decline and final fall manifestly depends on their relations in the latter country.

The causes which tended to prepare the fall of the Jesuits were: *a.* The contest which had been carried on for a century with the Jansenists, public opinion having been turned against them 1652, by the *Lettres provinciales* of Pascal. *b.* The political opposition, which was formed at court and in the parliament with the aid of Jansenism, and which was roused particularly by le Tellier, the last confessor of Louis XIV. *c.* The yet more formidable opposition of poilosophers and literary men who attacked them with ridicule. *d.* The inadequateness and perverseness of their instruction, compared with the demands and wants of the age. *e.* Their lax morals, (however much they insisted on external decency); and the accusation of having justified the murder of the king, and the attempts with which they were charged. *f.* The neglect and total absence of all scientific splendor, which was, perhaps, in this age their only resource. The whole spirit of their institution permitted them to accompany the advances of the age only to a certain point (see Vol. I. p. 69.); but they manifestly remained behind, farther than was necessary.

75. Nothing was now needed but some strong collisions with individual potentates; and these were followed by a series of partial suppressions,

that prepared the way for the total suppression of the society. These first took place in Portugal through the all powerful Pombal; then in France, Spain, Naples and Parma; and within two years, they had been driven from all these countries.

The fraternity was suppressed in Portugal, Sept. 3rd, 1759, having been previously expelled from the court and deprived of their possessions. They were every where an obstacle in the path of a reformer like Pombal.—Their fall in France was effected Nov. 1764, by Choiseul and Pompadour. Their law-suit with the Lioncy's, begun by Lavalette 1755, only gave the public and parliament an occasion to show their aversion to them. They were banished from Spain, April 2nd, 1767, (soon after from Naples, Jan. 1768, and from Parma, in Feb.) by Aranda and Campomanes, who regarded them as their enemies.*

76. Notwithstanding all these reverses, since they could be utterly exterminated by the Pope only, the Jesuits had a support in Clement XIII. so long as he lived, although his obstinacy and violence, especially in the contest with Parma, not only injured them, but in general compromised the papal power and embittered all the Catholic courts. The suppression of the society was so firmly determined on at those of the Bourbons, that even the change of ministers in France, after the fall of Choiseul, produced no alteration. Thus Clemens XIV., Ganganelli, was finally compelled to take the step, of which he well foresaw the con- 1768.

* D'Alembert sur la déstruction des Jesuites en France. (Oeuvres T. V.) 1805.

Lettere sulle cagioni della expulsione de' Gesuiti di Spagna. 1768.

Von Murr Geschichte der Jesuiten in Portugal unter Pombal. Nurnberg. 1787. 2 Bde.

sequences for himself and the Roman chair.
1773. Aug. 16th. By the brief Dominus et redemptor noster, the fraternity was abolished.

77. The fall of the order of the Jesuits was considered as a triumph of philosophy. However unanimous we may be respecting the pernicious nature of the institution, its extermination was prosecuted with a passion, which is rarely the mother of salutary measures. The great political influence of the society was gone; and it would be absurd, to believe that it was any longer able to guide those great events, which involved the interests of the world. But with it was overthrown a principal pillar of the Hierarchy, and where so much was tottering, it was easy to foresee that yet more would soon fall. And what a chasm it suddenly and necessarily left in the Catholic world! The total abolition of great institutions is always dangerous, even when they are degenerate; and it will ever remain a problem for history, whether the reaction, caused by the suppression of the order, was not yet more detrimental than its activity could have been, if it had been continued under the limitations of reform.

78. But while the West of Europe was enjoying, during these occurrences, a profound quiet, which, promoted by the events of the north, was consoli-
1770. dated by the amicable agreement between Austria and Prussia, there ripened in the interior of the cabinets that policy of aggrandizement and continuity of territory, which, originating chiefly in the scattered condition of the Prussian monarchy, found such loud advocates in the wants and

internal administration of the kingdoms, that it soon came to be considered as the ruling principle of politics. The first proof of this, surprising to the age itself, was seen in the first partition of Poland. Were farther proofs wanting, to show, to what issue this new political right could and must lead in a system, like that of Europe? 1772.

(See the history of the first partition of Poland in the Section respecting the North.)

79. Still the partition of Poland could not be so dangerous, as the application of this principle to the German empire. With this was not the preservation of the whole involved? And yet this was the very country, which, from its internal dismemberment, held out to the powerful the most tempting allurements.

80. Its consequences were soon unfolded, when Joseph II. became, more than nominally, the colleague of his mother. In the fullest sense, the pupil of the age, he was as it were its faithful impress. Insatiable in curiosity, he was of various acquisitions; of restless activity, he was full of projects; but very inconsistent and without regard for right; and determined, moreover, in the prime of youthful energy and full of ambition, on establishing his credit. What had not Europe to fear from such a character, even where he believed that his intentions were good? What mind could be more accessible to the predominant malady of the cabinets, the passion for giving compactness to their territories?

81. Proofs of it too had been exhibited in the seizure of Bukowina, and similar steps 1777.

were meditated in Italy. But Germany soon became the mark, and in Germany, Bavaria; for its situation was the most convenient; and it was exactly the worst project, which took the deepest root. The approaching extinction of the electoral line appeared to offer the desired opportunity; and even before its actual fall, the efforts had been attended with success, to win the successor, and induce him to a compact. But the speedy occupation was almost yet more revolting than the compact itself.

The Bavarian electoral line expired with the elector Maximilian Joseph, Dec. 30th, 1777, and the succession reverted to Charles Theodore, elector of the Palatinate, as the head of the elder Wittelsbachian line. But a compact was made with him, Jan. 3rd, 1778, at Vienna, and all lower Bavaria was occupied by Austrian troops.

82. Hazardous as these steps were, they appeared to be favored by the situation of Europe. France, now joined to Austria by family ties, since the marriage of the heir apparent with Maria Antoinette, destitute of influence on the continent, plunged itself, at this time, to please America, into a naval war; the object of Russian policy was aggrandizement at the expense of the Turks, and a war was here highly probable. England, engaged in a colonial war, could not come into consideration. Prussia alone, therefore, remained.

1770.

83. But from this side, extreme opposition was to be expected. The fall of Bavaria was also the fall of the whole political system of Frederic II. The certain consequence was the fall of the impe-

rial constitution of Germany; the forms hardly would have survived. What farther must ensue, was very evident. Thus by seizing arms, Frederic protected, not merely Bavaria, but also himself and his own work.

84. At the same time, Frederic's conduct evinced, that there was in Europe some higher principle, than that of pure egotism. Who has ever witnessed a similar disinterestedness, a similar elevation above the prejudices of the age, with that, which he exhibited at the offers made him for enlarging and connecting his own lands? A favorable destiny decreed, that the war, now broken out, should be without bloodshed. Maria Theresa feared for the quiet of her age, and the welfare of her son; and Frederic no longer trusted in fortune. The mediation of France and yet more of Russia, which, after the pacification with the Turks, threatened to become more than a mediator, led to more moderate sentiments; and the war was terminated by the peace of Teschen; not however without Joseph's retaining a portion of his booty.

The duke of Deux Ponts, as next agnate, remonstrated against the compact of Vienna; the Electorate of Saxony claimed the allodial succession; and Mecklenburg, seconded by Frederic II., laid claim to Leuchtenberg. Negotiations were entered upon without success; and Bohemia was invaded by Frederic, Prince Henry and the Saxons, who were not, however, able to drive the Austrian army from their strong positions along the upper Elbe.—In the mean while a private correspondence was commenced by Maria Theresa, and a congress was held, soon after, at Teschen, under French and Russian mediation; a truce was made March 7th, and peace May 13th, 1779. The conditions: 1.

Austria obtained the part of lower Bavaria between the Inn, the Salza and the Danube; in consideration of the abolition of the convention of Vienna. 2. It promised not to oppose the future union of the Margraviates Anspach and Baireuth with the Prussian monarchy. 3. Saxony received, in instalments, six million dollars; and Mecklenburg the privilege *de non appellando*. The peace was guaranteed by France and Russia, and the empire acceded.

The ambassadors to Teschen were; from Austria, Count J. Phil. Cobenzel; from Prussia, Baron von Riedesel; from the electorate of Saxony, Count von Zinzendorf. As mediators, were present from France, Baron of Breteuil, from Russia, Prince Repnin.*

85. The peace of Teschen put an end to hostilities, but not to irritation, (of which advantage might easily be taken by foreign powers;) for the *acquisition* of Bavaria, (with a new policy, new names also came in vogue) remained the favorite project of the Austrian cabinet. In what cabinet, whether great or small, did not similar wishes then spring up? The death of Maria Theresa, which left Joseph II. sole ruler, gave him the power of

1780. Nov. 29th.

* Memoire historique de la négociation en 1778 pour la succession de Baviére, confiée par le Roi de Prusse Frederic le Grand au comte Eustathe de Goertz. à Francfort. 1812. The leading source. From it is drawn the greater part of the complete narration in Dohm's memoirs etc. Vol. I. Whoever has a taste for diplomatic greatness, may here be gratified.

Oeuvres posthumes de Fréderic II. T. V. To the narration is annexed the correspondence between Frederic, Maria Theresa and Joseph. How inferior Joseph here appears, to the great king and to his noble mother.

Collection of Prussian documents in:

Recueil de déductions, Manifestes etc. qui ont été redigés et publiés par le Comte de Herzberg, dépuis 1778, jusqu'à 1789. T. II. Berlin. 1789.

acting as he pleased; and both in those great internal changes, and especially in those of ecclesiastical relations, which Pius VI. by a personal journey to Vienna sought to avert, and in his political relations, there was seen not only that rash struggle after aggrandizement, particularly in the German empire, but also that disregard and partial revoking of existing contracts, examples of which were exhibited in the disputes with the Dutch, as well in those respecting the taking of the barrier places, as in the more important ones respecting the opening of the Scheldt. 1782. M'ch.

An arbitrary renunciation of the barrier-treaty was made Nov. 7th, 1781—The opening of the Scheldt, the fortress Mastricht and twelve other points were demanded May 4th, 1784; and acts of violence immediately followed. By the mediation of France, a treaty was concluded at Versailles, Nov. 8th, 1785, by which Joseph desists from his claims, for ten million guilders!*

86. The undertakings of Joseph were facilitated by the condition of western Europe, where England, France, Spain and the Netherlands were just emerging from the war, prosecuted against North America, and felt in need of repose. By the peace of Versailles, which terminated that war, no alteration was made in the state of possession on the continent; and the harmony between England and France seemed even more perfect, than before the war, and resulted in a treaty of commerce; only in the relations of the republic, which France was able to at- 1783. 20th Jan. 1786. Sept. 26th.

* V. Dohm Denkwürdigkeiten B. II. contain an exact account of both transactions.

tach to itself by the great services it had rendered in its amicable mediation both with England and Austria, there existed a latent cause of future strife; and jealousy was excited by the treaty of commerce, advantageous for England.

(See below the history of the colonial war, in the section on the colonies.)

87. Under these relations, Joseph II. believed it possible to execute his darling scheme on Bavaria by an exchange. Under the name of the kingdom of Burgundy, the elector was to obtain the greater portion of the Austrian Netherlands, with several limitations however, and, in return, resign to Austria all Bavaria with the Upper Palatinate. The project must have advanced very far; for they were not only sure of the elector, but even Russia, with its new alliance with Austria, promoted the project, while France appeared to remain indifferent.

Overtures for an exchange were made in Munich by the Count von Lehrbach; and in Deux Ponts, with the heir presumptive, by the Russian minister, Count Romanzow, with a space of but eight days for consideration, Jan. 1785.*

88. Thus Frederic, on the verge of the grave, was again compelled to see his system threatened. He did not, indeed, again unsheath the sword; but there is hardly any portion of his glorious career, over which his spirit beams more brightly, than over the present. Never had he proclaimed so clearly and so loudly, of what momentous importance for

* Erklärung der Ursachen, welche Se. Preussische Majestät bewogen haben, ihren Mitständen eine Association zur Erhaltung des Reichssystems anzutragen; in Herzberg Recueil de déductions etc. depuis 1758. T. II.

Germany and for Europe was the preservation of the German constitution. The whole was, thenceforward, to rest on a strong foundation, on a German federate system, of which Prussia was the centre. Thus he formed, in perfect accord with his successor, the German league of princes, based on a common and permanent interest; his last day's work. Quieted, even for the future, he could now be gathered to his fathers! 1786. Aug. 17th.

The German *Fürstenbund* was concluded at Berlin, first with the Electorate of Saxony and, advances being made to England, (for the old man conquered even long cherished dislike) with the Electorate of Brunswick, July 23d, 1785, for the common defence of the German constitution. To it the collateral lines of the three electoral houses, and Mentz, Hesse-Cassel, Mecklenburg and Anhalt acceded.*

II. *Cursory view of the contemporary internal changes, and of their results, in the several leading states of the West of Europe, during this period;* 1740—1786.

1. In no one of the leading states of the west of Europe, was this space, the period of very great and rapid changes in the constitution; but in almost every one of them, a state of things was preparing, which would lead to such changes.

* Darstellung des Fürstenbundes, (von Joh. von Müller) 1787. How much richer than the title promises.

Ueber die Deutschen Fürstenbund von Chr. Wilh. von Dohm. 1785. Principally a confutation of the writings printed with it.

Ueber den königliche Preussische Association zur Erhaltung des Reichssystems von Otto von Gemmingen. 1785.

The most acute and copious accurate of the whole transaction is given in Memoirs, Vol. III. of Von Dohm, who was himself employed in the transaction.

1. PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

2. During this period, Portugal was destined for an experiment, how far a nation can be reformed by compulsion on the part of government. John V. being succeeded in the royal dignity by his son, Jos. Emanuel, the latter resigned the helm of state to the Count of Oeyras, Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal. No minister has ever attempted so general a reform, and executed it so violently, as Pombal. Agriculture, industry, commerce, the military department, instruction, were all to be modelled anew. All obstacles, the higher nobility and the Jesuits, were crushed; and yet after twenty seven years, things would not be in Portugal such as Pombal had seen in Germany and England. No permanent traces of his reforms, not even in the military department, appear to have remained; nothing but the evidence, if any was needed, that regulations, established by compulsion, will fall with the compulsion itself.*

1750 to 1777.

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* Much has been written respecting Pombal; but all either for or against him. Among the first is:

L'administration de Sebast. Jos. de Carvalho, Comte d'Oeyras, Marquis de Pombal. 1788. 8. 4 Voll.—Valuable by reason of the pièces justificatives.

Among the works against him, we cite:

Memoirs of the court of Portugal, and of the administration of the count d'Oeyras. Lond. 1767.

Vita di Sebast. de Pombal, Conte d'Oeyras. 1781. 4 Voll.

The collection of his laws, which no writer has used:

Collecçao das Leyes, Decretos e Alvaras, del Rey Fidelissimo Don Jozéo I. desde o anno 1750 até o de 1759. Lisboa. 1767. II. Voll. fol.

3. In Spain, the principles of government varied with the succession of rulers; Ferdinand VI. pursued a different policy from his father; and his half brother Charles III. again adopted a new course; but no important revolutions were made in the constitution. Still, that the Pyrenees afforded no sufficient barrier against the inroads of new ideas, was seen in the charges in the relations to the papal chair, and in the suppression of the Jesuits. The reign of Charles III. is distinguished for really enlightened ministers. To an Aranda and Campomanes, succeeded a Florida Blanca; and many regulations, both for the mother country and her colonies, mark their administrations. But on the great map of the nation and its character, this had little effect. Its principal features were too deeply impressed to be easily wiped away.* 1746. 1759. 1766. 1773.

2. FRANCE.

4. In France, the symptoms were unfolded, which are usually peculiar to weak and unsuccessful reigns. The insignificance of Louis XV. is universally known; but a concurrence of circumstances, such as is rarely to be found in a state,

* Bourgoing Voyage en Espagne. III Voll. 1788. erste Ausgabe. Dritte. 1803. The leading work for the knowledge of Spain, as it then was.

W. Coxe Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon, from the accession of Philip V. to the death of Charles III. 1700 to 1788. Lond. 1815. 5 Voll. The leading work for the court and diplomatic history of Spain in this period, drawn mostly from official accounts.

here combined to produce the internal dissolution, the results of which were not to be calculated.*

5. The ancient cause of ferment, produced by the Jansenists and the bull Unigenitus, still continued; and the acceptance or non-acceptance of that bull led to a real ecclesiastical schism, which must have been highly critical, on account of the
1753. inevitable reaction on the great mass of the people, and occasioned the most scandalous scenes.

6. But it was yet more so by the influence which it had on the parliaments and by the opposition, exercised by them. Though the pretensions which these bodies advanced in France, might have been, perhaps, historically groundless, the nation considered them as the last support of liberty, as there was no longer any convention of the States General. This opposition, which might be contested, was worse than a real one, for it impelled the government to violent measures, which it was without
1753. ability to execute. The repeated exile of the
1763. Parliament, terminated with their triumph;
1771. their final suppression was regarded as an act
1774. of pure despotism; and with what hazard

* Mémoires du Maréchal de Richelieu T. I—IX. 1790—1793. Compiled from the papers of the French Alcibiades de Soulavie. They comprise the long period of 1710—1774. Replete with interesting information, they give a picture of the sinking French monarchy. Better, if the author had not painted it through the coloring of the revolutionary age. To this class belong, also, the:

Mémoires secretes de Louis XIV., de la regence, et de Louis XV. par J. Duclos (in the Oeuvres Vol. 6. 7.). Paris. 1790.

their restoration by Louis XVI. was fraught, experience has shown.

7. These differences were the more dangerous, because they were periodically renewed; but of more effect than they, was the union with Austria, soon rendered more firm by the marriage of the Dauphin with Maria Antoinette. While the ruling dynasty, by this, disowned the character of the state, it took the first step towards its downfal. As formerly the Stuarts in England, it set itself in opposition to the nation; and the long series of unhappy consequences, and the insignificance in the political system of Europe, which daily became more apparent, and which Vergennes, during his ministry, was unable to conceal, could not but strengthen this opposition, in proportion as the political ambition of the nation was wounded.

1770. May 16th.

1774 to 1787.

8. In addition to this, the finances were in such a state of utter disorder, as rendered every thorough reform impossible, without shaking the strongest pillars of the constitution. Since the death of Fleury, no well organized ministry could have been formed under the governments of mistresses. And when, under Louis XVI., Necker was placed at the head of the finances, it was soon seen that mere frugality would be productive of as little benefit, as the highly unseasonable experiment of publicity had been. The abolishment of the prerogatives of the privileged orders was perhaps the only

1777 to 1781.

1780.

resource; but was not even this a subversion of the constitution?*

9. Thus France presented the image of an autocracy, which, at variance with the nation, found itself entangled in embarrassments, from which it could extricate itself only by concessions; while in the nation, the view of the remedies themselves inflamed the ancient, deep rooted hatred of the states. What a situation! There is nothing more than a bare possibility, that a high energy on the part of government might have availed; what then could mere honesty effect, supported by no extrinsic talent and united with weakness?

3. GREAT BRITAIN.

10. Whoever should judge of the changes of this state, during this period, by the changes of its constitution, would find but very few of importance. But though its forms preserved their former modifications, the spirit underwent a great revolution; especially since the termination of the seven years' war.

11. In the interior, the power of the crown grew with the power and greatness of the state in general. The constitution fixes the formal power of a government; success, the real. After wars, so victoriously prosecuted, and with a continual increase of national prosperity, attachment to the constitution and government was natural. What government would not have become more powerful under such circumstances?

* Compte rendu au Roi par Mr. Necker. 1780.

12. This was shown in England, by the increasing superiority of the crown in parliament. The practical peculiarity of the national freedom of the British consists in this, that the parliament has not here, as elsewhere, to fear a struggle with the crown, but the crown a struggle with the parliament. Thence arise the exertions of the ministers to acquire a majority, and their necessary change if they fail of this. In this respect, Walpole's ministry constitutes an epoch; and a minister was seen for the first time to hold his office for more than twenty years, by maintaining that majority. He is accused of having introduced bribery. But however certainly we know this to have existed among the electors, we are as uncertain with respect to the elected. Certainly, the temptation is great for a minister to obtain a majority in any possible manner. And yet, what must a nation have at length become, whose delegates were always a herd of mercenaries? 1721. to 1742.

13. Mean while, the increasing influence of the crown led to the idea of a reform; which, it was thought, might be effected by an improved national representation. Several of the greatest men, among them the two Pitts, were inclined to it from the beginning; and yet neglected it during their ministry. Thus the times of quiet elapsed, and times of commotion are not adapted for such experiments! Granted, that it should succeed without a total revolution; is there reason to be sure, that the choice will fall on worthier persons?— And, nevertheless, this is probably the rock, on

which the constitution of Great Britain will, one day, split.*

14. But the peculiar characteristic of the progress of this constitution is, that it has always been more and more closely linked with the credit of government. The progress of the system of loans, (since almost all was borrowed within the country), entered deeply into the monied interest of the government and nation; with the fall of credit, the system of loans would have ceased, and with it the strength of government. Thus this system was the cement of the constitution. But since, at every step it took, the burden was increased, the condition of the maintenance of the constitution lay in the proportionate advancement of national prosperity; and no other government has ever found itself in a similar necessity of sacrificing every thing to its advancement. It was soon, however, discovered, that, even without a pledge to repay the capital, the system had its limit in the payment of the interest; and fears had been entertained for the credit of government, when
1786. William Pitt, by his sinking fund, threw out the anchor, which, by an apparent liquidation of the national debt, produced the real object, the security of national credit.

The funded debt of Britain amounted, at the beginning of this period, 1739, to somewhat more than fifty-four million pounds sterling. The Austrian war of succession increased it to seventy-eight millions; the seven years' war to one hundred and forty-six millions; the colonial war to

* Lord Selkirk on parliamentary reform. A highly instructive essay.

two hundred and fifty seven millions. The expedients before adopted to reduce it, the ancient sinking fund established 1717, and some payments in peace, had accomplished but little. The new sinking fund of Pitt was established May 26th, 1786, according to the calculation of Price, and was designed for the extinction of the debt at that time; but by the bill of Feb. 17, 1792, a particular sinking fund of one per cent. was decreed for every new loan. Thus the stock, since government is always its purchaser, maintains about an equal value, however chimerical may be the calculations respecting the entire payment of the national debt, so long as new loans are constantly made.*

15. The constitution, the credit of the government and national prosperity, being thus inseparably connected, the British state could not but acquire an internal solidity, in which it was exactly the reverse of the ancient French. The advancement also of national prosperity seemed the more certain, since it depended much less on foreign commerce than on domestic culture, industry and traffic, which were so astonishingly increased, since the seven years' war, by the canals that have been made. But the necessity of a continual increase for self-preservation is, nevertheless, a fearful necessity. To what expedients may it lead!

4. THE UNITED NETHERLANDS.

16. By the introduction of hereditary stadtholders, which took place in all the provinces soon after the beginning of this period, the republic suffered an important change in her constitu-

* Essai sur l'état actuel de l'administration des finances et de la dette nationale de la grande Bretagne par Fr. Gentz. Londres. 1800.

tion. It was brought about, on occasion of the threatened invasion of Dutch Brabant by the French army, by a revolution of the people in favor
1747. of William IV. former stadtholder of Fries-
Apr. land, Gronigen and Guelderland, of the younger branch of the house of Orange. In this way, a change of the constitution took place, but by no means for the better.

17. One party only conquered; the other was reduced, but not annihilated. The victorious found its strength in the augmented power of the hereditary stadtholder, which the conquered regarded as the yoke of tyranny. This was not the measure to restore to the waning republic the bloom of youth; if indeed a renovation had, under any circumstances, been possible. And the new house of Orange was not so fruitful in great men as the old.

18. Even the family relations of the new hereditary dynasty acquired a high political importance. Connected by these relations with the British dynasty, the Orange party drew their support from England, while there was formed, by reason of commercial envy and especially by the commercial oppressions of the English during the seven years' war, a strong anti-English party, the principal seat of which was the great commercial cities. The early death of William IV. contributed much towards strengthening these relations; and the
1767. subsequent marriage of his son and successor, William V., with a Prussian princess, was destined to become far more momentous.

After the early death of William IV. Oct. 22nd, 1751,

Anna, his widow, daughter of George II. acted as guardian of her minor son, William V., assisted by the Field Marshal Prince Louis of Brunswick, who exercised the office alone, after her death Jan 12th, 1759, and retained a strong legitimate influence even after the majority of the prince, 1766.

19. Thus this state, in the enjoyment of apparent health, was consumed by internal maladies; and a storm from abroad was all that was wanting to exhibit its irremediable weakness. This was accomplished by the war with England, which deprived the state of its commercial, together with the remains of its political greatness, and plunged it into a confusion of factions, which in the following period terminated in its ruin. 1781.

5. THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

20. In this period, the German empire experienced the most material changes, not indeed in the form of its constitution, but in its internal relations. The Austrian war of succession plunged it in civil dissensions; and notwithstanding Bavaria was reinstated by the peace in her ancient relations, and the imperial crown was again annexed to the house of Austria, the peace of Breslau had founded a new and permanent relation with Prussia.

21. The conquest of Silesia severed the ancient amicable union between the dynasties of Austria and Brandenburg; and the new position, which Frederic took against Austria, practically annihilated the unity of the German states, although it still continued in form. A general combination for the attainment of one object, one general war of the empire, could seem but little less than impossible; since one of the states stood forth, even

in peace, as the rival of the emperor. And yet the empire not only survived, but witnessed, after the peace of Aix la Chapelle and Hubertsburg, the happiest days of its existence. At the first glance, a surprising phenomenon!

22. The first cause was, without doubt, the alliance of Austria and France. When was peace secure in Germany, so long as these two powers were rivals? Of what wars between them could the empire,—their usual theatre,—have kept itself free? But with this connexion, the ancient danger had disappeared, and security was established. At Ratisbon, Kaunitz and the Pompadour deserved a monument!

23. The second cause is to be found in the relations of Frederic. He was compelled to sustain the German constitution; for its fall would have been the aggrandizement of Austria; what therefore had his fellow states to fear from him, even with all his schemes of enlargement? Thus the security of the empire proceeded from a concurrence of circumstances. That it was founded on relations alone, no one acknowledged, who thought of their mutability.

24. The long life of Frederic gave it permanence; for the first time, Germany enjoyed tranquillity for thirty years; and on the great battle fields of Europe, the fruits of peace could, at last, ripen. The manifold blessings of a free, federate constitution could now be unfolded, under the favor of circumstances (a necessary condition); and states even of the second and third magnitude, down to the free cities, gained some consequence;

they were, or became, all that they could become; and the character of each was moulded by its own constitution.

25. Together with this political diversity, the culture of the Germans rose into distinction, with a rapidity and a variety of aspect, such as had been equalled among no other people; still science maintained an ascendency over the belles lettres. But their literature was their own work; it was fostered, not by the higher orders, but by the nation itself. For this very reason it could never be eradicated. Thus an asylum for science and art was here founded for future times; while the iron of war and the more dangerous gold were elsewhere driving them into exile.

26. While the progressive formation of its language and literature united the nation, the political bond, which ought to have embraced all its parts, continued to grow weaker. To the emperor there remained little more than his direct influence, and what political writer out of Austria would have dared to recommend an enlargement of the power of the sovereign? The time of quiet appeared to be the time for reforms; but it was not possible to reform even the imperial courts; and 1776. under the existing relations of Austria and Prussia, how were greater ones possible? Melancholy fate of the nations! The corruption of their constitutions springs from their prosperity; and those who ought to take the lead in improvements are generally the most interested in the corruption.

6. PRUSSIA.

27. The Prussian monarchy, elevated by Frederic II. to a station among the leading powers, was almost doubled in extent and population; but the basis of its internal organization, established by his father, and with it the character of the state, remained essentially unchanged. Frederic enlarged and improved; but he overthrew none of the ancient fundamental institutions.

28. The constitution of this monarchy, with the exception of two secondary provinces, was purely autocratic, not depending on the states as German usage demands. Are we to find in this, or in the various restraint, the cause, why it was so little beloved in foreign countries, however highly it was extolled? Still the autocracy was much modified; and arbitrariness in the administration found a check in the circumstance, that most of the provinces were administered, not by individuals, but by colleges.

29. With the increase of the army, economy became the more a fundamental maxim, since the accumulation of a treasury from the surplus of the *Etats* was ever the rule of Frederic. Seldom, therefore, could great institutions flourish, which need liberality; whatever else that is great and excellent in legislation, administration of justice and agriculture, and is compatible with the autocracy, was protected and encouraged. The liberty of speech and of the press was almost as entire as in the most free republics; and its beneficial conse-

quences were the greater, since Prussia became, in this respect, the model for other states.

30. In a state, composed of parts, gradually brought together, this unity of constitution compensated for the want of unity of nation and territory. Frederic's personal government, to which history cannot offer a parallel, formed the most perfect centre of the whole administration. Always master of himself, he was always at his place; and the dawning light generally found the duties of the day already done. Every noble breast must feel emotions of the deepest reverence, in contemplating the singular mortal, who thus stood at his post, for almost half a century, the most sublime model of high fulfilment of duty. Who needs so little as he, to fear censure? His very failings sprang from his greatness; but they reacted no less powerfully on the state and on the nation.

31. Frederic never identified himself with his people. To them, only the prince was devoted; the man, to a small circle of foreigners. This separation produced the most important consequences.—By it, he threw a shade over his own nation; a misfortune, an irreparable misfortune for both! The nation lost the respect it deserved; the king remained behind his people and the spirit of the age. Is not this the reason, that important changes, especially in the rights and relations of the states, so loudly demanded by the spirit of the age, remained entirely out of his plan?

32. The strength of the state, which lies in the nation and in the administration, Frederic beheld in the army, together with his treasure. "On it

rests the state, like the world on the shoulders of Atlas." He sought to realize his *ideal* of a standing army, by making it, as far as possible, an artificial machine. He never admitted, that there exists even here a boundary line, beyond which men cannot go, without offending nature. Nowhere, therefore, has the wall of partition between the civil and military classes been so strong, as in the Prussian monarchy. Never has internal weakness been more completely concealed under the semblance of external strength.

33. The worst result of the personal government of Frederic is found in the application of that fundamental principle to the civil administration. How can we altogether deny its truth? Where was there to be found in such a state, in which the first minister was but little more than the first clerk, where was there to be found a free sphere of action for great minds? Where a school of practical improvement? Was not rather the activity of the lower authorities repressed by forms? But although Frederic's government contributed to this result, the first cause lay yet deeper in the organization, already introduced by his father.

If we reprehend the conversion of the state into a machine (see p. 42), by state must be understood neither the nation nor even the whole retinue of public servants; but the administration, and the executive authorities. These must be regulated indeed, so that all their efforts may be in accordance; but this is perfectly consistent with a freedom of action; and is far removed from that species of administration which seeks every thing in forms, and binds every thing to forms.*

* Ueber die Staatsverwaltung deutscher Länder, und die Dienerschaft des Regenten, von Aug. Wilh. Rehberg. 1807.

34. By this immediate government of the prince, the welfare of the state was necessarily bound in a high degree to his person. Frederic, sufficient of himself, had no council of state ; an hereditary autocracy he believed the means to give a posthumous existence to the spirit of a ruler. He alone constituted his cabinet. Not every one was as competent to do so as he ; and what pernicious consequences may spring from the collisions of the higher authorities, later experience has taught.*

7. AUSTRIA.

35. Respecting no one of the great states of Europe, is it more difficult to form a general opinion, not only because it has so little that is general, but because even that is enveloped in obscurity. Statistical tables exhibit, with sufficient exactness, the superficial contents and the population, in men and cattle ; but these accounts are lame as to the finances ; (what intelligent person will trust them ?) What then can they tell us of the internal spirit, or even of the course of the administration ?

36. With the House of Lorrain, a new dynasty

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* De la Monarchie Prussienne sous Frederic le grand ; par le Comte de Mirabeau. Vol. I—VII. Londres. 1788. (The two last parts consist of an appendix respecting Austria, Saxony and Bavaria). Some inaccuracies may be discovered in this work, but how few states can boast of such a spirited delineation ?—Did those make statistics to consist of tables never suspect, what a lesson they might learn here ?

Von Dohm Denkwürdigkeiten (above p. 40.) Th. 4. is wholly devoted to a sketch of Frederic's character. By far the best.

was seated on the throne, widely different from that of Hapsburg. Spanish etiquette, together with many of the ancient maxims of government disappeared; but in the important internal relations of the monarchy, but little change was ultimately effected, though much was, at times, attempted.

37. At the head of these, stands the relation of Hungary to Austria. The principal country of the monarchy was never any thing more than a province; subjected to the most oppressive commercial restraints; it likewise remained the colony, from which Austria exacted all she could, for her own advantage. The injurious consequences of this internal discord are evident: it depends on circumstances how far they may become dangerous; but all essays at essential changes have hitherto been in vain.*

38. In addition to this, there were financial evils, created by the abuse of paper money. No one of the leading states of Europe has suffered so long and so severely; and the causes of this calamity, brought to maturity by the full formation of the mercantile system, unfortunately lay too deep to be removed by mere regulations. These

*Ungarns' Industrie und Commerz von Georg von Berzeviczy. Weimar. 1802. An excellent exposition of the commercial relations of Hungary, conformably to the maxims of an enlightened political economy. Happy would it have been, if the internal relations of this fine country had presented no greater obstacles to its prosperity, than did its external relations. Has it not been seen in the case of Poland, how, notwithstanding all its patriotism, a state may, nay must become, the victim of its constitution?

evils had their origin in the establishment of the Bank of Vienna, which appears to have been designed for a money machine; and 1703. although aid was afforded in single periods, the great wars, generally prosecuted in foreign countries with their own specie, always produced new confusion with the new necessities.*

39. Notwithstanding these obstacles, what great resources did this monarchy offer to the prince, who knew how to govern it. And how easy this is, for one who respected sacred rights, and was free from a despotic spirit, was exemplified by Maria Theresa. Did not her greatness consist far more in her character than in her talents? Does not her praise yet resound unanimously from her nations? But unhappily the new maxims, introduced into the art of government, by Joseph II., were exactly the reverse. Too little persevering to effect a violent reform, too impatient to produce a gradual one, and too open to conceal his views, he stirred up all to opposition, while he believed himself doing every thing in the best manner. What might not have been the result, had a longer life and greater firmness allowed him to execute his designs by violence. But as it was, he 1790. left his dominions, either in open rebellion, or in a state near to rebellion.

8. THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

40. The Port, having sunk into a defensive position, and only on compulsion taking a part in the

* Fr. Nicolai Reisen durch Deutschland. B. I—IV. 1781. The leading source for Austrian statistics of that time, and the only one for the history of the Bank of Vienna.

affairs of the North, was no longer the object of fear, but on the contrary the mark, towards which the desire of aggrandizement was directed. Its political importance for Europe thus underwent a great revolution. Writers too disclosed its internal weakness; but by forming their judgments according to a European standard, they ran, in many cases, into error.*

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41. The course and character of politics in this period, may be gathered from the foregoing sketch. Most of the great relations of the continent were controlled by Frederic II. The part he played was that of a conqueror, ambitious but considerate. He owed it to himself and his kingdom to maintain the system, established by the conquest of Silesia; still this system was at first purely egotistical. But the alliance of Austria and France elevated him to be the protector of European liberty; who else could have shielded it? And on the preservation of the Prussian monarchy, depended the balance of power, not only in Germany so long as that alliance continued, but also on the continent. In this sense Frederic was called, and was, the umpire of Europe. Would that he had kept strictly to this glorious character!

42. We have already shown how politics degenerated by the plans of the cabinets for aggrandizement and contiguity of territory. It could not however degenerate altogether; it was prevented by the greatness of the princes. Under the guidance

* Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares par le Baron de Tott. 1785. 4 Voll.

of Frederic and Catharine, politics could become selfish, but not petty; and even with this selfishness, they retained a certain dignity. Yet princes die; but not the love of aggrandizement; and there may, unhappily, be times, when even the moral worth of the rulers may sink under the corruption of the cabinets.

43. It was, likewise, necessarily a cause of disquietude, that the great themselves now began to sap the fundamental supports of politics by ridicule. Catharine set the fashion; on the political balance of power. She might have had her reasons; but what could appear *naiveté* in her, was frivolity in the crowd of her adorers. Moreover, this period saw two inventions of policy, both equally pernicious. The notoriety of secret articles in public contracts, (the bane of all confidence in a political system), and the abuse of guarantees. What are the guarantees offered by great powers, in general, but one sword more placed in their hands to be used at their pleasure? And how entirely so, when, as in the case of Poland, they guarantee their own tyranny?

44. Political economy, in a practical respect, though variously modified in single points, remained, on the whole, the same, notwithstanding the heterogeneous theories that were started. The general land tax of the *physiocrats* was favorably received; but it was found impracticable to make this the only tax; and if the doctrines of Adam Smith did not immediately prevail in England, how could they do so in foreign countries? The views of Frederick II., very much circumscribed by the

maxims of the mercantile system, and the yet more circumscribed views of Joseph, were powerful obstacles. But this much was gained, that the importance of agriculture, and at the same time, that of the lower classes of society rose in the eyes of practical men. The abolition or alleviation of personal villanage or feudal service, was so loudly demanded, that it prevailed in several countries; and the promotion of agriculture was adopted as a maxim at least in practice; generally, however, only in as far, as could be done without forsaking the ancient maxims. To this, the contest respecting the free trade in grain affords the best commentary.*

45. The reaction of the mercantile system on political affairs, was therefore not diminished, but strengthened, in proportion as the exertions of the states were greater themselves to take part in commerce, and to exclude others. The regulation of their mutual commercial relations by treaties of commerce excited jealousy and variance, sometimes between the contracting parties, sometimes in a third; and the colonial trade, and the renewed contests respecting the rights of neutral flags (see below) nourished the contentions.

The treaties of commerce of this period, most important from their consequences for politics, were: 1. The one contracted between England and Russia, June 21st, 1766, for twenty years; much in favor of British merchants

* Dialogues sur la commerce des bleds par l'Abbé Galliani. Londr. 1770. A Specific for the system-mongers. Die Freiheit des Getreidehandels von Norrman. Hamb. 1802.

settling in Russia. 2. The treaty between England and France, Sept. 26th, 1786, for twelve years. Mutual encouragement was extended to the importation of British manufactures and French wines and brandy, by means of diminished duties; much to the disadvantage of French manufactures. 3. The treaty between France and Russia, Jan. 11th, 1787, for twelve years. The import was a mutual encouragement of the introduction of French wines and Russian iron, soap and wax, by means of reduced duties, as also of the merchants settling in either state; and a definition of the rights of neutrality.

46. In this period, the art of war became an art in the fullest sense of the term, and the system of standing armies reached its highest perfection, both in the greater and smaller states. But the art degenerated into trifling; the soldiers were taught the management but rarely the use of arms. The long season of peace, it would seem, could not but mature those evils, which even the genius of a Frederic could not obviate, for they lay in the nature of things themselves.

47. But the nature of things did not require the excessive increase of the army by foreigners, who had generally to be guarded in the fortresses; the preference given in promotion, almost exclusively to birth and next to seniority; and the degradation of the common soldier by means of a disgraceful discipline. From these principles of conduct evils ensued, which were the more dangerous, since outward splendor rendered them less perceptible.

III. *History of Colonial Affairs in this period, from* 1740 *to* 1786.

1. That, which Europeans had planted, and which had been growing for almost three centuries beyond the ocean, began, in this period, to attain maturity. Colonies of every kind now acquired their greatest importance. And results ensued, which had not been expected, however much they lay in the natural course of events.

2. If Great Britain was, in this period, the predominant power among the colonial states, its navy was one principal cause of it. By means of this it was able, even in time of war, to keep up communication with its colonies, which its enemies were unable to do, and wars were, therefore, but little interruption to its commerce. But it was no less the whole spirit of the nation and government, applying itself more and more to commerce, that made the care of colonies the chief object, since on them depended almost all foreign trade.

3. The colonies of North America, extending from the Mississippi to the river St. Lawrence, and in the interior to the Allegany mountains, were augmented in the peace of Paris by the cession of all Canada and Florida. Never did British dominion seem more consolidated in this portion of the globe; and yet it soon appeared, that it was never less so.

4. Struggles after independence lie in the nature of flourishing agricultural colonies, because they are the nurse of a nation. In addition to this

circumstance, there were in America the long cherished democratic principles, realized by the constitutions of most of the provinces, a weaker political connexion with the mother country, and the feeling of growing strength, already tried in the seven years' war. Nothing was wanting, then, but an occasion for a breach; and the result was inevitable.

5. This breach had its origin, not so much in any sensible oppression, as in a question of right: Whether the British parliament had a right to tax the colonies? Parliament maintained the affirmative; the colonies denied it, because they were not represented.—To defend a principle of this kind with such obstinacy, required a people accustomed to disputation, by previous political-religious contests. But the enforcement of a stricter commercial monopoly with respect to the colonies since the peace of Paris, and the restriction of the smuggling trade with the French and Spanish possessions, must have added the more to the discontent, the less their commerce, increasing in such a vast degree, was to be confined within its ancient limits.

The dispute arose as early as 1764, occasioned by Grenville's Stamp Act, passed March 22d, 1765. Great commotions were immediately produced in all the provinces, especially in Massachusetts and Virginia, and a Congress was convened at New York in October, which published a declaration of the rights of the people.—After Grenville's resignation, the Stamp Act was repealed by Rockingham, March 19th, 1766; but the principle was at the same time confirmed by the bill, declaring the supremacy of the Parliament in all cases whatsoever.

6. Though the flame was prevented from breaking out at present, the fire continued to glow; disputes were not wanting in the single provinces, sometimes with the governors, sometimes with the troops; an opposition was already formed, with men of the highest influence at its head. Among them was a Franklin; but so little was the true situation of things known in England, that, after another change of the ministry, Townsend deemed it possible, by means of indirect duties imposed by parliament, both to maintain its consequence, and to attain the object of government.

Duties were laid on tea, paper, glass and colors, by the Revenue Act, June, 1767. The proceeds of these duties were to form a civil list for America, which should be wholly at the disposition of the ministers for conferring remunerations, pensions, etc.

7. The opposition to the right of taxation was renewed, especially in Massachusetts, whose capital, Boston, was the centre of resistance. In the voluntary agreement to make use of no British commodities, a means of injuring England was discovered, and was not left unimproved. 1770. After Lord North was stationed at the helm, England took a retrograde step, though again she receded but half way.

The duties were abrogated, with the exception of that on tea, in Feb. 1770. By this reservation, the right of taxation was explicitly asserted.

8. To what could such half measures lead, but to greater distrust? The Americans were convinced of their rights the more they examined the subject; and the great circulation of pamphlets

was already followed by the consequences, that were afterwards displayed, in a far greater degree in Europe. But in England, these half measures were never recalled; and while the enforcement of them was left to the East India Company, the insurrection broke out in Boston.

The Americans refused to purchase tea, on which a tax had been levied.—The East India Company became embarrassed; and after the repeal of the export-tax in England, attempted to gain the Americans by a cheaper price. —But, nevertheless, measures were adopted, to prevent the importation of tea, and a cargo of it was forcibly seized and thrown into the harbor, in Boston, Dec. 26th, 1773.*

9. This occurrence impelled England to resort to severer acts. They consisted not only in shutting up the harbor of Boston, but in regulations, by which the charter of Massachusetts was annihilated. It was these regulations, which created the general insurrection, since each province now saw no security for its former constitution.

The Boston Port Bill was passed March 25th, 1774, and on the 20th of May, acts for erecting a royal court of jus-

* The History of the American Revolution, by David Ramsay. Lond. 1791. 2 Voll. The calm account of a contemporary who was informed of all the facts, and participated in the events.

Storia della guerra dell' independenza degli stati uniti d' America; scritta da Carlo Botta. Parigi. IV Voll. 1809. A history of the revolution, compiled from the sources with care, and very well written.—For the investigation of the principle of right, we quote:

Der Ursprung und die Grundsätze der Amerikanischen Revolution von Friedr. Genz. in his Hist. Journal. 1800. 2d Vol.

For a deeper insight, the contemporary British journals are necessary, such as:

Gentleman's Magazine, 1764—1784, and others.

ice, etc. in Massachusetts.—Boston was occupied by English troops.

10. Great harmony prevailed among the provinces; and measures were taken for convoking a general congress, with rare moderation and order; such as were possible only in a country, where there existed no populace. The resolutions of the congress, while they resisted the pretensions of parliament, were by no means directed against the crown.

Congress was opened at Philadelphia, Sept. 5th, 1774.—A resolve was made, to suspend all commercial intercourse with England.

11. England was thus brought to the alternative of making concessions or a civil war. What could be lost in case of the former? What could be gained by the latter? Could even the most successful issue to the war establish a lasting subjection? Could the costs be, even remotely, compared with the advantage? There were not wanting men of prophetic spirit, who advised a compromise; though no one rose to the view, that the loss of North America would be for the benefit of England. But the eloquence, even of Chatham and Burke, were of no avail against the ministers; the provincials were proclaimed rebels.

An address was presented by Parliament, against the rebellious provincials, Feb. 9th, 1775. An attempt was made by means of Lord North's conciliatory bill, Feb. 20th, to induce them to tax themselves, with the reservation, however, of the supreme authority of the parliament.—The propositions of Chatham, Jan. 20th, and Burke, March 22d, were to secure the ancient rights of the colonies, but were rejected in both houses.—Hostilities were begun by the bat-

tle at Lexington, April 19th.—New troops arrived from England in May. It was still hoped that a few regiments would be sufficient to maintain America !

12. The war, rapidly commenced on the part of the colonies, by the fruitless expedition against Canada, became of necessity, from its nature, a defensive war ; and who was so capable of waging it as Washington ? There was need, not of a Cæsar, but of a Fabius. Though the British occupied single maritime cities, were not the Americans possessed of the country, and all that it contained ?

The expedition against Canada under Arnold and Montgomery, in Oct. of 1775, was frustrated by the relief of Quebec, by Carlton, in May, 1776. Boston was evacuated by Howe, March 17th ; on the other hand, Long Island was occupied in Aug., and New York became the chief seat of the war. The greatness of the hero, Washington, was founded not on splendid talents, but on laborious years, not on quick success, but on enduring perseverance.

13. While the exasperation thus increased, the idea of an entire separation from England, prepared by statesmen and journalists, found every where a hearty reception. For in that event only, was aid to be hoped for in Europe ; and the sending out of German mercenaries seemed to render it inevitable. *The thirteen United States were declared independent.* NOVUS SAECLORUM NASCITUR ORDO.* July 4th 1776.

14. After this grand step, but one happy blow was wanting, to give the colonies allies in Europe. This was done by the capture of Burgoyne and

* Common Sense, by Thomas Payne, 1776. Perhaps the most important pamphlet for general history.

his troops. The fates of moderate corps were here, events of greater importance for the world, than, elsewhere, the defeat of vast armies.

The English attempted to attack the colonies on the rear by invading them from Canada, under Burgoyne. He was surrounded by Gates, and capitulated at Saratoga, Oct. 16th, 1777.*

15. This occurrence gave access in Versailles to the previous proposals of Benjamin Franklin. The independence of the provinces was acknowledged by France, and war with England thus decided. It was a victory of the cabinet over the express wish of the king. How erroneously it had calculated! That the war should become a maritime war, and that it should spread to the two Indies, lay as much in the existing political relations, as that Spain should be shortly involved, though only as the ally of France, and at last Holland. It thus became a war respecting the dominion of the ocean, prosecuted by France for some time with more glory than usual.

A treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between France and America, Feb. 6th, 1778. The war broke out with England, March 24th. An indecisive naval battle was fought at Quessant, July 27th. The naval war began in America and West India under d'Estaing, in September. The French took Dominique, Sept. 7th; Senegal, Jan. 30th, 1789; St. Vincent, June 16th; Grenada, July 4th;

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* Berufsreise nach Amerika, (von der Generalin von Riedesel) 1792, wife of the commander of the Brunswick troops and an eye witness. In English under the title:

Letters and Memoirs relating to the war of American Independence, and the capture of the German troops at Saratoga. By Madame de Riedesel. New York. 1827.

on the other hand they lost St. Lucia, Dec. 14th, 1778. In the beginning of the war in the East Indies, Pondicherry was conquered, Oct. 17th, 1778. An attack was made on Hyder Ali, in Sept. 1780. A naval war was waged there under Suffrein and Hughes.—Meanwhile Spain engaged, June, 1779, and a junction took place of the French and Spanish fleets without success. Minorca was taken, Feb. 5th, 1782, and a protracted siege of Gibraltar, gloriously defended by Elliot, lasted from 1779 to Oct. 1782.—England declared war against Holland, which was already negotiating with America, and wished to join the armed neutrality, December 20th, 1780. An indecisive naval battle was fought at Doggersbank, Aug. 5th, 1781. But Negapatam was lost, Nov. 12th, and Trincomale Jan. 15th, 1782, and St. Eustace in the West Indies. The British naval power was, thus, almost in equilibrium with that of all the rest of western Europe, and it acquired an absolute superiority, by Rodney's new naval tactics, since the great battle off Guadaloupe, April 12th, 1782.

16. But the fate of America was to be decided on the continent, and not on the ocean; and however much assisted by the French auxiliaries under Rochambeau and La Fayette's enthusiasm, Washington has the glory of having struck the decisive blow. After the capture of Cornwallis, England could entertain no more hope of sending over a new army.

An expedition was undertaken against the southern states; Charleston was taken; but Cornwallis was surrounded at Yorktown, and forced to capitulate, Oct. 19th, 1781.

17. Nothing but a change of ministers in England, which took place by Lord North's retirement, was necessary to produce a peace, the necessity of which had begun to be clearly perceived. England had to conclude it, not only with

North America, but also with France, Spain and Holland. It could not be purchased without sacrifices; but it was, in reality, the peace with Holland, that created the difficulties, because England wished to gain from Holland some compensation for its losses.

After Lord North had retired, March 20th, 1782, a ministry was at first organized under Rockingham, who died, however, July 1st; beside him, Shelbourne and Fox were secretaries of state. Shelbourne was made prime minister, Fox having resigned, till March 14th, 1783. He having been obliged to retire, after the conclusion of peace, a coalition was effected between Lord North and Fox till Dec. 18th, when William Pitt, placed at the head of the new ministry, Dec. 23rd, 1783, continued in this post till Feb. 9th, 1801. Negotiations of peace were entered upon at Versailles, and preliminaries signed with America, Nov. 30th, 1782; with France and Spain, Jan. 30th, 1783; which were changed into a definitive peace, Sept. 3rd.

a. Peace between England and America. 1. The independence of the thirteen United States was acknowledged. 2. The boundaries were so fixed, that the great western territory was relinquished to the Americans. 3. They continued to participate in the fisheries of Newfoundland. 4. The navigation of the Mississippi was made common to both parties.

The ambassadors were: from England, Oswald; from America, Franklin, Adams and Laurens.

b. Peace between England and France. 1. All conquests in the West Indies were restored, and Tobago was resigned to France. 2. In Africa, Senegal was resigned to France, in return for which Gambia and Fort St. James were guaranteed to England. 3. All conquests in the East Indies were to be restored. The allies of France (Tippo Saib), were invited to accede to the treaty. 4. The participation

of France in the fisheries of Newfoundland was enlarged, and the isles of St. Pierre and Miguelon were resigned to it. 5. It was agreed to conclude a treaty of commerce within two years.

The negotiators were : from England, Lord Fitz Herbert; from France, the Count de Vergennes.

c. Peace between England and Spain. 1. Spain remained in possession of the conquered Minorca. 2. So likewise in possession of all Florida. 3. All other conquests were restored. 4. It was, likewise, promised, that a treaty of commerce should be made within two years.

The negotiators were: Lord Fitz Herbert; and from Spain, the Count of Aranda.

d. Peace between England and Holland. Though Holland was included in the truce, in the preliminaries of the other states, yet the preliminaries were first signed, under French mediation, at Paris, Sept. 2nd, 1783, and the definitive peace, May 20th, 1784. Conditions : 1. Negapatam was resigned to England, with the proviso, that it should be regained for an equivalent. 2. All other conquests were restored. 3. The navigation of all the Indian seas was made free to the English.

The negotiators were : From England, the duke of Manchester ; from Holland, Van Berkenrode and Brantzen.

18. No other war of modern times has been attended by such consequences for universal history. Among these, is the foundation of a new republic, on the other side of the ocean; a state of Europeans, out of the European political system, independent by its own power and its own productions, at the same time called by its situation to carry on a great trade with all the world, without the need of standing armies, and without cabinet policy. How much is there, that could

not but here assume a shape different from any thing in Europe!

The new republic—established without any internal revolution of the single states, (moderate changes only were requisite)—at first languished under its liberty. The first constitution created a federal government, without strength and without credit. But the constitution of 1789 gave it all the solidity, that a federative state can possess, by committing the executive power to the president, in connexion with the senate, the legislative, (conformably, in most respects, to British forms,) to the two chambers of the Senate and the Representatives, not, however, without the participation of the president; and the public credit was founded by a system of finances for the union. To Washington, the president, the new state was no less indebted than to Washington, the general! The Union can, perhaps, be preserved, only by having great men in the first offices.

19. It was to be expected, that commerce would feel the first great influence of the new republic, and almost all the maritime states hastened to form treaties with it. But the republic, poor in money, traded most readily with the one, which gave it the readiest and longest credit, and the free commerce with England became far greater, than it had ever been, when restricted. It was soon seen what American navigation might become; but it continued limited, till new naval wars in Europe raised it beyond all expectation.

20. While this war, contrary to all presumption, laid, by the emancipation of America, one new foundation stone to the increasing commercial greatness of England, a second was added by the sudden downfal of the commerce of the republic of the United Netherlands. Once overthrown, it

could never acquire anew sufficient strength to sustain the powerful competition; and England inherited, if not the whole, by far the greater portion of its trade.

21. But this war gave rise to a new and highly important political phenomenon; the armed neutrality. Though, in its origin, it belonged to the north, its influence pervaded all Europe; and, much as there was of accidental in its formation, it entered so deeply into the necessities of the times, that the idea could not be allowed to be lost. Its aim was to be the maintenance of the rights of neutral flags. Uncertain as was the issue, Russia shone as the support and centre of the new system, around which all the neutrals rallied. Though the necessity ceased of itself with the return of peace, every naval war must, nevertheless, renew it; and it depended solely on relations, whether and in what manner politics would make use of this new lever.

The first declaration of the armed neutrality was made by Russia, Feb. 28th, 1780. It was demanded: 1. that neutral vessels should sail free from port to port, and along the coasts of the belligerent powers; 2. that hostile property should be free in neutral vessels, with the exception of the contraband, which was restricted to arms and the actual necessaries of war; 3. that it should be exactly defined, what a blockaded harbor is; 4. that this definition should serve as a rule in judging of the lawfulness of prizes.

The accession of Denmark to the armed neutrality at the invitation of Russia, was declared July 9th, 1780; of Sweden, July 21st; of Prussia, May 8th, 1781; of Austria, Oct. 9th; of Portugal, July 13th, 1782. The English anticipated the declaration of the accession of Holland by the

declaration of war, Dec. 20th, 1780.—In the answers, (April 23d), England expressed no explicit opinion respecting the principle. It was recognized by Spain (April 18th) and France (April 25th).*

22. Though England lost its ancient colonies on the continent, it retained its new acquisitions Canada and Nova Scotia, which became of greater importance, as it was hoped they would constitute a compensation for what had been lost. While the value of these possessions increased in the eyes of the mother country, they became the objects of greater care. The repeal of the Test act made the introduction of so mild a constitution possible in Canada, whose inhabitants were mostly Catholic, that culture was no longer limited to Lower Canada, but was so extended in Upper Canada, that a distinct government was required to be made of it. But Halifax in Nova Scotia was now the principal harbor, that the British possessed on the continent of America.

1774.

23. The British West Indies had been increased

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* Mémoire ou précis historique sur la neutralité armée et son origine, suivi des pièces justificatives par Mr. le Comte de Görz (at that time, Prussian ambassador in Petersburg ;) 1800. The occasion of the plan was the capture of two Russian vessels by the Spaniards ; and the Spanish blockade of Gibraltar, (the English had not dared to renew their regulation of 1756, (see p. 39), in this war), but the true cause was, the necessity of Count Panin to counteract the influence and projects of the British ambassador, Sir James Harris (Lord Malmesbury). Thus intrigue led to a greater end, than it had itself foreseen.

Von Dohm Denkwurdigkeiten, B. II. [N. A. Review. No. 59. Page 308, &c.]

Heeren's Miscellaneous Historical writings. Th. I. p. 344.

in extent by the cessions in the peace of Paris. Of these, however, Tabago was restored to France in the peace at Versailles. The condition of colonization had been improved by the grant of several commercial liberties; but the repeated wars, the inroads of the *maroons* (run-away negroes), and the formidable storms, which repeatedly devastated the principal island, Jamaica, about the end of this period, destroyed most of the hopes, that had been conceived; and the emancipation of America would almost have been the ruin of the British West Indies, had not necessity triumphed over the maxims of the mercantile system.

The greater commercial liberties consisted, partly in the opening of free ports, 1766, on Dominica and Jamaica, for the purposes of trade with foreign colonies in their vessels, (principally on account of the necessaries of life, and the slave trade), partly in the free commerce with Ireland, allowed in January, 1780. The emancipation of America would have exposed the West Indies to famine, had not the former commerce, though circumscribed, been still permitted, April 4th, 1788.*

24. The African colonies were augmented by the possession of Senegal for almost twenty years, by which, in addition to the slave traffic, that in gum also came into the hands of the English. The former stood, indeed, in a natural relation with the West India colonies; but the markets for slaves for foreign colonies, opened in the free ports, and the entire freedom allowed in this traffic, in this period, unhappily concurred to give it an

* A descriptive account of the isle of Jamaica by W. Beckford. II. Voll. 1790.

increasing importance. While the voice of humanity grew louder and louder against it, the
1786. emancipation of America became the cause of the foundation of a colony of free negroes at Sierra Leone on the coast of Africa itself, which was to prove that slavery might be dispensed with.

All the still existing duties, payable to the African company, were abolished 1749; after it had been deprived of its monopoly as early as 1697.—The colony at Sierra Leone was settled in 1786, mostly by the negroes of the emigrant royalists. A noble monument of humanity! Though the leading object was not immediately attained, who can say, how far it may lead ?*

25. But the East Indies were now the greatest and most magnificent theatre of the colonial policy of Britain. The merchants became conquerors, and founded an empire, in a short time far superior to the mother country in extent and population. The company thus appeared in a double form, both as rulers and as merchants; and England was at the same time the mart of Indian wares, and the gulf of Indian treasures.†

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* An account of the colony of Sierra Leona from its first establishment. 1795.

† Transactions in India from the commencement of the French war in 1756, to the conclusion of the late peace, 1783. London. 1786. A German version has been published by M. C. Sprengel, under the title: Geschichte der wichtigsten Indischen Staatsveränderungen von 1756 to 1783. 2 Thle. 1788. The most valuable for a general survey.

Orme's history of the military transactions of the British nation in Indostan from the year 1745. Lond. 1778. 4to.—

26. This great revolution of things in India was prepared by the fall of the Mogul empire. So long as this subsisted in its strength, the Europeans could rarely appear on the continent otherwise than as merchants. But at war with itself, since the death of Aureng Zeb, the empire received its mortal wound, from the predatory invasion of Nadir Shah. The name of the sovereign remained. But the governors made themselves independent, and the subject nations began to shake off their fetters. 1707. 1739.

Of the (hitherto) governors, (Subahs and Nabobs) the most important are : the Subah of the Deccan (the Nizam), on whom was dependent the Nabob of Arcot or the Carnatic ; the Nabob of Bengal, of Oude, and the Rajah of Benares. Of the nations, the Patans, and still more the Mahrattas and the Seiks were formidable.

27. Both the French and English soon sought to improve these circumstances ; the former, however, the first ; and in the beginning destiny seemed to have allotted to them the dominion of India. Could Labourdonnais and Dupleix have acted together, who could have wrested it from them? But by their dissensions, the precious moments were lost, and the French government did not know, how to use such men.

Madras was conquered by Labourdonnais, Sept. 21st, 1746, and a dispute arose respecting it with Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry. The former fell into disgrace and was

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A version of this also has been given by Archenholz : Die Engländer in Indien. 2 Thle. 1788.

A short history of the East India company by Fr. Russel. Lond. 1793.

recalled; Pondicherry was besieged in vain by the English, Aug. till Oct. 1748, and Madras was restored in the peace of Aix la Chapelle. (see p. 19.)*

28. The rivalry, already renewed between the two nations, was inflamed by the schemes of Dupleix to obtain amends in possessions of territory, for the unprofitable commerce. It was occasioned by the mingling of the native princes in the disputes, at first in the Carnatic on Coromandel, where the contiguity of the principal settlements made it impossible to remain unobserved. How could it be difficult in an empire that was broken up? But the baseness of the Mogul princes facilitated it, still more than the anarchy did; and the superior talents of Dupleix generally gave the French, till the seven years' war, the predominance.

The disputes in the Carnatic were caused by Dupleix' supporting the claims of Muzzefar Jung to Deccan, and of Chundasaheb to Arcot; against whom the English defended their client Mahomed Ally, who finally maintains himself in Arcot, 1756. The recal of Dupleix, who was followed by the unfortunate Lally, while at the head of the British troops, the formidable Clive was forming under the warrior Lawrence, gave these latter the superiority.

29. But it was the period of the seven years' war, in which the company established its extended empire. The superiority of British arms was shown in the Indies also. The conquest and dismantling of Pondicherry confirmed the British dominion on Coromandel for the future, notwithstanding the restitution of that city in the peace of Paris.

* Histoire du Siége de Pondichery soux le gouvernement de Mr. Dupleix.

Hostilities were begun on Coromandel in 1758, after the arrival of Lally; and it was spread over the whole coast, especially to Tanjore.—The British preserved the superiority, and Masulipatam was taken 1760, and Pondicherry Jan. 16th, 1761. The northern Circar was resigned by the Nizam 1766; and the nabob of the Carnatic obtained perfect independence.*

30. But it was soon felt, that it cost more to maintain Coromandel than it yielded. Nothing but the possession of the countries of the Ganges, above all, of the rich Bengal, where factories had already long existed, could establish the territorial dominion in India, because there were the great territorial revenues. The Nabob himself gave occasion for it; and Clive founded the dominion of the company with greater ease, than he himself had hoped. There was need of no conflict, such as the Cortes and Pizarros had sustained in America; for here, the baseness of the Mogul nobles cooperated with the British.

As early as 1690 (see Vol. I. page 227), the British had a counting house at Calcutta; and in 1699, they had confirmed it, by the erection of Fort William on occasion of an insurrection. Calcutta and Fort William were conquered by the Nabob Seraja Dowla, June, 1756. The captives were incarcerated and suffered to perish in the Black Hole. Clive made an expedition against Madras in 1757. Calcutta was reconquered, and a decisive victory obtained at Plassey, June 26th, by the treachery of Mir Jaffier, now appointed Nabob of Bengal instead of his brother in law, but de-

* The History and Management of the East India Company, Vol. the First, containing the affairs of the Carnatic; in which the Rights of the Nabob are explained, and the Injustice of the Company proved. Lond. 1779. 4to. Goes to 1755.

posed in 1760 by Clive, in favor of his son in law Mir Cossir; and, as the latter, incapable of slavery, took up arms, he was again appointed Nabob, July 10th, 1763. The secret of ruling under the name of others was found out; and it was now hardly necessary to repeat the game. It cost, however, one more contest with the subah of Oude, 1765, to whom Mir Cossir, and the great Mogul, who had been expelled from the Mahrattas, had fled. Not till after his defeat, could the possession of Bengal be deemed secure.

31. The Great Mogul surrendered the Devani of Bengal (the revenues and their collection) to the company; while the Nabob was pensioned. Thus the association, having previously acquired the commerce, now obtained the administration and the sovereignty of the country, though the shadow of them was left to the former rulers.

A treaty was made at Allahabad by the governor Lord Clive with the Great Mogul, (as apparent sovereign), respecting the resignation of the Devani of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, Aug. 12th, 1765, in consideration of an annual sum of twelve lacks of rupees.

32. From this time, the company was the mistress of an extensive and opulent country; but the expectation, that she herself would be greatly enriched by it, was soon disappointed. There arose a clashing interest between its agents and between its directors and their subalterns in India. The former still received the moderate profit of the trade between India and Europe; but they wished to augment the commercial dividends by the present territorial income, of the surplus of which, the latter, on the other hand, sought to make use. And, moreover, the most important brances of the domestic trade had to be abandoned to the subal-

terns in India. Thus, in the unhappy Bengal, every thing concurred, that can ruin a nation; an administration, as corrupt as tyrannical, and the most oppressive monopolies.

The chief evils were: 1. The change of the established hereditary rents of farms of the Zemindars and Ryots (greater and less farmers), into annual rents. In a country where almost all landed property was held by rents, all security of possession disappeared at once; and numerous extortions took its place. 2. The bad administration of justice, and the application of British laws. 3. The monopoly, granted to the government in 1765, of salt, betel and opium, the first necessaries of life in India. 4. The yearly exportation of hard money to England and China. 5. The losses in discounts, occasioned by the defective system of coinage. The ruin of the country would have been inevitable, even without the terrible dearth of 1770 and of 1771.*

33. A dominion, extorted so violently, was necessarily followed by a state of perpetual weakness; and in Hyder Ali, sultan of Mysore, a more dangerous foe was soon found, than had been an-

* The principal papers, that appeared in the contest that arose in England, are:

Considerations on the affairs and the present state of Bengal, by W. Bolts. III. Voll. 4to. Against the company. As an answer:

A view of the rise, progress and the present state of the English Government in Bengal. By Mr. Verelst. 4to. Lond. 1772. The 2nd and 3rd parts of Bolts contain the replication. Single acts of oppression only can be refuted or exculpated; the truth of the general oppression was soon established by the results.

A. F. Tyttler's Considerations on the present state of India. London. 1815. contain the best historical survey of the system of possession and farms in India. Even in the well intended regulations since 1772, the burden eventually devolved on the poor Ryots or peasants; while the Zemindars grew rich.

ticipated. The impossibility of keeping a sufficiency of European troops, led to the critical measure of forming a native army, which succeeded beyond expectation.

The first war with Hyder Ali (since 1760, master of Mysore by usurpation), and his ally, the subah of Deccan, began in 1767. But in Feb. 1768, the company gained the latter. A victorious invasion was made into the Carnatic, and peace was concluded before the gates of Madras, Apr. 3rd. 1769. The conquests of both parties were restored; and the mutual trade was made free.—But Hyder Ali had seen, what he was able to accomplish.

34. Notwithstanding these great changes, the internal organization of the company had still remained the same. The directors in England were the chiefs, under whom stood the governors of the four presidencies, independent of each other. Each of these acted for himself; and how much was already done, before orders could arrive from England. These defects, which were supposed to constitute a principal source of the evils, were to be removed by the act of regulation, which, by means of a new organization of the company, was to give unity to the government in India, and place it in some dependence on the crown.

The Act of regulation, passed April 1773, was introduced into India, Oct. 1774. Principal points: 1. Better arrangements in the choice of directors. 2. None but those holding stock to the amount of 1000 pounds, or more, were to have a vote in the general assemblies. 3. The governor of Bengal was made the governor-general of all the British possessions with the highest civil and military power; at his side, however, stood the Supreme Council, consisting of four members, with restraining power; and in case of a dif-

ference of opinion, the majority decided. 4. The right of making war and peace, and of negotiating with the native princes, was vested solely in the governor-general and the supreme council. 5. A high court of judicature was erected by the crown; with appeal to the privy council. All regulations, civil and military, were to be laid before the secretary of state in England. The king can annul them. Warren Hastings, governor since 1772, was the first governor general, 1774—1785.*

35. By these new regulations something was gained for the dependence on the mother country, little for India, and more for the company. The administration was more concentrated, not without collisions with the other presidencies; under a chief, so severe and so experienced as Hastings, method was introduced into oppression. But permanent quiet could not exist in India, and therefore no certain revenue. It was the common course of conquerors. Oppression created resistance, resistance war, war expenditures, expenditures new oppressions. Thus arose the wars with the Mahrattas and others. Conquest finally became necessary to existence.

The wars with the Mahrattas, were first caused 1774 by the aid, which Bombay afforded to the pretended ruler (Peishwa) Ragoba against the Rajahs of Berar (the Bunsla), of Ougein (the Scindia) and Holcar of Malwa; but suffered to fall in the peace 1776, on orders from Calcutta. The war was renewed in 1777, and Goddard made a bold march from Calcutta to Surat, which must have terrified all the princes of the Mahrattas. A grand alliance was formed between the Mahrattas, the Nizam and Hyder Ali, against the

* The whole act in Russel's Collections, etc. (Vol. I. p. 190, etc.)

company in 1779; the war with France breaking out about this time. Hyder Ali made a new and dreadful invasion of the Carnatic 1780, where he maintained himself two years. The want of money ensued; for the war spread throughout the greater part of India; and exactions and revolutions in Benares, in Oude, etc. with the most revolting acts of injustice, while the maritime war with the French was carried on, at the same time, under Suffrein, and Hyder was assisted by French auxiliary troops. But the separation of the allies extricated England from the embarassment. Peace was concluded with the Mahrattas, May 17th, 1782. Conquests were restored; the English obtained the exclusive right of trade. In the peace with France, Pondicherry was given back, with the other conquests, Nov. 30th, 1782. Hyder Ali, (†Nov. 9th, 1782), thus had to prosecute the war alone, which his son and successor Tippo Saib terminated by the peace at Mangalore, March 11th, 1784. Conquests were here again restored, and the trade left free to the English.—The great acts of injustice and oppression were brought to light in 1788, by the trial of Warren Hastings; yet without any satisfaction given for them.*

36. But notwithstanding this issue of the war, and the enlargement of the territory of the company in Bengal, and the acquisition of Negapatam, it was evident, that it could not subsist long in its present state. All its extortions did not enable it to fulfil its obligations to the government; it was regarded as no better than bankrupt. But it was yet more painfully felt by means of the last war,

* The Trial of Warren Hastings before the Court of Peers. Lond. 1788. 2 Voll.

Articles of Charge of high crime against W. Hastings, by Edm. Burke. Lond. 1786.

Memoirs relative to the state of India, by Warren Hastings. 1786. His own account.

Geschichte der Maratten von M. C. Sprengel. 1791. Goes to 1782.

how a state is formed within a state. A stricter dependence on the government had become so urgent a necessity, that all parties agreed to it. After the first unsuccessful attempt of Fox, during his ministry, it was reserved for Pitt to attain this object by his East India bill.

The East India Bill, brought into parliament by Fox, Nov. 18th, 1783, was rejected in the house of Lords. Contents. 1. The existing direction was to be entirely abolished; and the company in its political, commercial, and financial relations, was to be subjected to a board of control of eight persons, chosen by parliament for four years. For commercial affairs, a committee was to be added, of nine members of the company, subordinate, however, to the board of control. 2. The board was to have in its gift, all the places of the company, and, like the former directory, to stand under the king and the ministry.—Would not the board, thus organized, have constituted a new state within the state?*

After Fox had retired, Mr. Pitt brought forward his East India Bill, Aug. 4th, 1784, the basis of the still existing constitution. Principal points: 1. That the former direction should continue; but 2. it should be subordinate to a board of control, in respect to the whole territorial administration, in all political, military, and financial matters. All despatches should be first approved by it, and could be altered by it. 3. In the court of directors, a secret committee was appointed, which swears obedience and secrecy to the board of control. 4. The high offices are to be filled by the directors, within two months, after information has been received of their vacancy. Afterwards the king appoints. The right of

* A comparative statement of the two bills for the better government of the British possessions in India, brought into parliament by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, with explanatory observations by R. B. Sheridan, Esq. London. 1788.—Advocating it;

Speech on Mr. Fox' East India Bill by Edm. Burke.

removing persons from these offices belonged to the king as well as to the directors. 5. The supreme council in Calcutta consists of the governor general and three counsellors; the second place in it belonged to the commander in chief. Like regulations were made at Madras and Bombay. 6. The other presidencies are strictly under the authority of the government of Calcutta; but this may undertake no aggressive war, without permission from England. In extraordinary cases, however, great powers were delegated to the governor general on his responsibility. 7. Accounts are rendered of the property of those going to and returning from India; and the defaulters punished.*

37. The vast territory of the company on the continent of India, now comprising the countries of the Ganges as far as Benares, the Circars, and indirectly the Carnatic on Coromandel, Bombay and several possessions on Malabar, was thus subjected, with respect to the dominion over it, to the government of the mother country; but its commerce was still committed to the company. Even this could hardly have subsisted, had not the trade with China obtained such an importance, by reason of the immense consumption of tea. But, in order to put an end to smuggling, the ministers had to lend their assistance. By the *Commutation Act*, Pitt was, in commercial respects, the preserver of the company.

The annual consumption of tea amounted at that time to about twenty million of pounds, in weight, of which two thirds were introduced by smuggling. The duty on tea was changed by the commutation act, July, 1784, into a tax on

* The complete Act (afterwards improved by the acts of 1786), may be found in Russel's Collection, p. 294, and p. 342.

houses; by virtue of which the smuggling trade ceased of itself.*

38. Though the continuance of the company and of the British sway in India was thus secured, the result of these measures depended mostly on the choice of the high officers; and perhaps Great Britain was here no less indebted to Cornwallis than to Pitt. Many improvements were made, even in the lot of the natives; but the germ of corruption, consisting in internal wars, might be weakened, but could not be eradicated.

39. With this enlargement of the colonial affairs of the British, their navigation was enlarged, and soon extended beyond all seas to the limits, which nature herself had imposed in fields of eternal ice. The three voyages of Cook awakened the spirit of discovery in a degree, not much less than the enterprizes of Columbus had formerly done. The islands of the Southern ocean became as well known as those of the Mediterranean; instead of the precious metals, they yielded the sugar cane of Otaheite, and the flax of New Zealand; and Cook himself started the idea of a settlement on the continent of Australia, which, resting on the sure basis of agriculture, after the lapse of hardly thirty years promises to outgrow the fostering care of the mother country, and to afford it ample recompense. 1768 to 1780.

The colony was founded at Sidney Cove in New South Wales; Jan. 1788. Probably the most durable monument, which Pitt has left of his administration.†

* The complete act in Russel Collection, etc. p. 319.

† Arthur Philip's voyage to Botany Bay. Lond. 1799.

40. The history of the colonial affairs of the French is, in part, included in the preceding. The unhappy geographical confusion with the British possessions never allowed the rivalship to expire. It was to the disadvantage of France. By the great concessions made in the peace of Paris, it lost all Canada, with several of the smaller Antilles; and, the British navy having such a superiority, the possession of the other colonies was at most precarious. But, nevertheless, the result in the East and in the West Indies, was very different.

41. In the East Indies, the hopes of France were fixed by Dupleix on territorial possessions. When these were lost in the seven years' war, and Britons ruled in India—how could the trade have ever flourished again, whether prosecuted with or without a company?

The most prosperous period of the French power in India was subsequent to 1751. Through Dupleix, it acquired the four Circars; the island Sherigan in the river Cauvery, Masulipatam and an extended territory near Carical and Pondicherry. But the peace of 1763 restored every thing to the footing of 1749 (see Vol. II. p. 36), only the dismantled Pondicherry and Carical remained to France.—The India Company was abolished 1769, and trade made free, with the restriction of returning ships to L'Orient. Even in its death, the mercantile system still regulated.

42. But France could not be wholly driven from the East Indies, since the isles of France and Bourbon, independent of the storms of revolution,

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Collins' account of the Colony in N. S. Wales, from its first settlement in Jan. 1788 till 1801. II. Voll. 1802.

could not be wrested from it. Besides their actual products, they served as places of depot for merchandise and arms. But why, asked the *physiocrats*, do we attempt to carry on a direct trade to the East Indies by force, when the indirect is far more certain and advantageous?*

43. More favorable was the fate of the French in the West Indies. France lost, indeed, here also, in the extent of its possessions, and wars and natural calamities retarded the prosperity of the smaller islands; but on the other hand, Domingo alone afforded, in the last half of this century, such immense reparation, that it almost surpassed the hopes of the mother country, whose foreign commerce was, for the most part, connected with this island.

The smaller islands were lost in the peace of Paris (see p. 36); of these, Tabago came again into the possession of France. Martinique and Guadaloupe (see p. 33) both fell into the hands of the English, and the former island was devastated by insects and hurricanes. On the contrary, Domingo rose, partly on account of its inexhaustible soil, partly because it was spared the desolations of nature and war. In 2000 plantations, it yielded, about the end of this period, productions of the value of about 170 million livres (almost as much as all the rest of the West Indies), of which the marts were Bourdeaux and Nantes.†

44. On the other hand, the possessions on the

* Du commerce et de la compagnie des Indes par du Pont. Paris. 1769.

†Nouvelles considerations sur St. Domingue en reponse de Mr. H. Dl. par Mr. D. B. Paris. 1780. 2 Voll.—But especially the third part of Bryan Edwards. (see Vol. I. p. 159.)

continent of America, both in Guiana (Cayenne), and in Louisiana, which was ceded to Spain, remained less important, notwithstanding the unreasonable efforts, to raise the former. How far the transplantation of spices thither may become profitable, cannot yet be determined.

Louisiana, with West Florida, which appertained to it, was ceded to Spain by France, Apr. 21st, 1764, in consideration of the exchange, (never accomplished), of the Spanish portion of St. Domingo. Spanish policy and tyranny reduced the colony to the verge of ruin.—Great efforts were made to colonize Guiana, in 1763, in order to compensate for Canada. Of 12,000 colonists sent thither, most perished of hunger, within one year.—Spices were transplanted thither from the Isle of France, whither Poivre had brought them in 1770 from the Moluccas.*

45. For the Dutch colonial system, this was the period of the decline and fall. While the competition of other nations was so strong, to have stood still would have been a relative retreat; but the hidden evils, from which the colonies, as the state in general, had long been suffering, were brought to a crisis by the unexpected war with England. If the wounds, inflicted by this war on its commerce, had not been incurable, they would have been rendered so by the following internal convulsions. What are colonies without navies to protect them?

46. The revolutions on the main land of Hin-

* Champigny état présent de la Louisiane. à la Haye. 1776.

Collection de Mémoires et de correspondances officielles sur l'administration des Colonies et notamment sur la Guiane Française et Hollandaise par V. P. Malouet. an X. 5 Voll. 8vo. A rich collection of materials.

dostan did not, indeed, immediately affect the Dutch East Indies, because these possessions consisted mostly of islands, and even the loss of Negapatam might easily have been borne. But they were not without an injurious influence. The moral causes alone, which had wrought, for a long time, the decline of the East India company, were more dangerous than the political; and there can be no doubt, that even without the latter, the company would not have escaped bankruptcy.

As farther causes of the decline of the company, in this period, (see Vol. I. page 287), we must consider: 1. The great massacre of the Chinese on Java, 1740, under pretence of a conspiracy; 2. the loss of the India coasting trade, both to India itself, and to Persia and Arabia, by the rivalship of the English; 3. the continued bad regulation of navigation; 4. above all the war with England and the loss of Negapatam.*

47. The Dutch West Indies, possessed of greater commercial freedom and another constitution, experienced much less sensibly the evils, which oppressed the mother country. The colony of Surinam was exceedingly flourishing since the middle of the century; and the islands of Curaçao and St. Eustace were frequently, 1767. in the wars of the other maritime powers, the marts of the West Indies, so long as the republic could maintain the neutrality. Here it was, that the war with England inflicted incurable wounds, and prepared the dissolution of the company renewed since 1674.

* Consideration sur l'état présent de la Compagnie Hollandaise des Indes Orientales par Mr. le Baron d'Imhof cidevant Général-Gouverneur. 1741. As an appendix to: Dubois Vies des Gouverneurs, etc. Vol. I. p. 287.

Changes took place in the possession of Surinam, as the West India company (Vol. I. p. 229) sold two thirds to Amsterdam and the Family of Sommelsdyk, which latter in 1770 again relinquished its portion to Holland. But the proprietors (the company of Surinam) only possessed
1731. the government and the levying of taxes; the trade was free to all the Dutch. In its most flourishing period, 1750—1780, the annual value of its products amounted to about eight million guilders.*

48 The Spanish colonies suffered much less than the others by the rivalries and wars of the mother states. The islands were the most difficult to attack; the immense regions of the continent of America were secured by their extent. Though the regular trade with the mother country was interrupted by the wars, the contraband, on the contrary, proceeded and even increased. They seem to have been little obstruction to the quiet internal prosperity.

The conquest of Porto Bello, 1740, and especially of Havanna, 1762, by the English, was the only loss, of any consequence, of the Spaniards, in this period. Both cities were restored in the peace.—By the resignation by Portugal of the small islands Annobon and Fernando del Po, 1778, Spain acquired possessions in Africa, adapted for prosecuting the slave trade.

49. The possessions in America were little changed in their extent. For Florida, first relinquished (see p. 36) and afterwards recovered (see p. 89), Louisiana (see p. 108) had already afforded

* Statistische Beschreibung der Besitzungen der Holländer in Amerika, vom Prof. Lueder. 1792. The first part, and the only one that has been published, comprehends only Surinam.

an equivalent; but its deserts were regarded as a security against the smuggling trade with New Mexico. The old possessions continued to be the principal countries, and it was their internal increase in connexion with their extent, that rendered the new political divisions and regulations necessary.

The new political division of Spanish America was fixed by the rule of 1777, by the erection of the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres and of the government of New Mexico; New Granada with Quito having been, already in 1739, raised into a distinct viceroyalty. From this time there were four *Virreynatos* (viceroyalties): 1. New Spain, (Mexico. 2. Peru. 3. New Granada. 4. Rio de la Plata and Buenos Ayres. And independent of them, the *capitanias generales*: 1. New Mexico. 2. Guatimala. 3. Chili. 4. Caraccas. 5. Cuba and Havanna. 6. Porto Rico. 7. Louisiana, (ceded 1801) and Florida (ceded 1821). 8. Domingo. (ceded 1797). After the cession of Louisiana, Florida was attached to Cuba. The number of the *Audiencias* was augmented to ten. (See Vol. I. p. 74).*

50. Far more important, however, were the new commercial arrangements, by which most of the ancient fetters were loosened, since the liberation of Spain from the *assiento* treaty by the peace of Aix la Chapelle. The mother country retained, indeed, the exclusive trade with the colonies; but both this, and the mutual trade of the colonies, were arranged on more liberal principles.

American commerce advanced, step by step, to freedom. The galleons ceased as early as 1748 (see Vol. I. p. 79), and single ships were subsequently introduced (register ships) sailing to South America, at no fixed time, from Ca-

* (Randel) Neuere Staatskunde von Spanien. II. Theil. Berlin. 1787. Drawn with care and judgment from the best sources.

diz, whither the trade had been transferred from Seville in 1726.—In 1765, the trade to the Spanish West India islands was made free to all Spaniards, and from nine Spanish harbors, in consideration of a duty of only 6 per cent.—This freedom was extended in 1779 to Buenos Ayres, to Peru, Chili, Santa Fé and Guatimala. The fleet continued to go to Mexico, (Vol. I. p. 79); not till 1786, did it obtain a freedom, restricted to 6000 tons importation. But of the greatest importance was the diminution of all duties by the new tariffs of 1778 and 1784.—The mutual trade of the American colonies among themselves had already been made free by the rule of 1774.—A regular communication with the mother country was maintained by packet boats; and posts were established throughout all Spanish America.*

51. The new projects embraced the Asiatic possessions also, the Philippines. Their trade to America was still carried on by means of the galleons to Manilla, (see Vol. I, p. 115); but for the direct trade with Spain, a Philippine company was formed, which did not however meet with the expected success.

The company of the Philippines was erected May 10th, 1785, by stock, especially of the old Caraccas company, now given up. The ships went by way of Peru to Manilla and returned to Spain by way of the Cape. Manilla was made a free port, with freedom of trade to Asia.—Court cabals and wars soon palsied the activity of the company.†

52. It can hardly be denied, that the colonies gained more by these regulations than the mother

* The Bourbons have caused no collection of colonial laws to be compiled, as the house of Hapsburg did (see Vol. I. p. 72). Bourgoing Voyage en Espagne. T. II. is here the leading source, (see p. 59.)

† Crome über die Spanische Handlungscompagnie der Philippinen in: Woltmann Geschichte und Politik. 1800. B. 3.

country. If the latter continued to supply them for the most part, with the products of foreign industry, the production increased in them in an extraordinary measure. With commerce, the circle of ideas was expanded; the scientific culture of modern Europe found an uncommon access, which the hierarchy and inquisition were unable to forbid.

53. The changes in the colonial affairs of Portugal proceeded in part from the contests with Spain, but far more from the administration of Pombal. Her colonial policy became, in general, more concentrated in Brazil. Of the possessions in Asia and Africa, (Madeira excepted), she alone was not able to conceal, that they were becoming more and more insignificant.

The contest with Spain arose respecting the colony St. Sacrament, (Vol. I. p. 230), and its smuggling trade, especially since the colony had been relinquished with its territory to Portugal in the peace of Utrecht, 1713. A compact was made in 1750, respecting the exchange of this colony for seven Spanish missions of the Indians in Paraguay. This gave rise to a dispute with the Jesuits, the founders of the missions, and was opposed by the Indians. The compact was annulled 1761, and new altercations were caused, which finally plunged Spain in war, 1777. St. Sacrament and the island St. Catharine were taken away. In the peace, St. Sacrament was secured to Spain, but St. Catharine was given back. An exact settlement of boundaries, advantageous for Portugal, between Brazil and Spanish America was adjusted Oct. 1st, 1777. The project of a kingdom in Paraguay has been unjustly charged to the Jesuits. How could extensive missions exist, unless conducted as theirs were conducted?

54. The regulations of Pombal, relative to Brazil, had their foundation partly in his political system, partly in his hatred of the higher nobility and the Jesuits. The confiscation of the property of the great families there as crown lands was intended to mortify the former, and secure Brazil to the crown; by the erection of privileged commercial companies, commerce was to be regulated, and taken from the Jesuits. Greater evils were to obviate the less! And notwithstanding these measures, agriculture in Brazil seems ever to have been on the advance, as the exports were continually increasing.

Brazil was politically divided into nine governments, six of which were on the coast: 1. Rio Janeiro. 2. Bahia, (the two most important). 3. Pernambuco. 4. St. Paulo. 5. Maranhao. 6. Gran Parà; and three in the interior: 7. Matto grosso. 8. Goyas, and 9. Minas geraes, all three rich in gold, and the last in precious stones. Each one was under a governor, who was immediately subordinate to the court. Some had subdivisions.

The trade with Brazil, hitherto free to all Portuguese, was carried on under the escort of four squadrons, to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Pernambuco and Maranhao with Gran Parà. Instead of it, the commercial company of Maranhao and Gran Parà was chartered June 6th, 1755; and, on it as a model the company of Pernambuco and Paraiba, July 30th, 1759. Principal regulations: 1. The capital of both should be raised by stock. 2. Each was to have its supreme board of directors (Junta), in Lisbon. 3. Each was to have the sole trade, both of exports and imports, to their respective provinces, (that of Pernambuco with the exclusion of two ports). 4. Their sales should all be in wholesale, and they should transact no business in small quantities.—On the other hand

the fleets to Rio Janeiro and Bahia were abolished, and commerce made free, Sept. 22d, 1765. (So also to Angola, 1758, and to Mozambique from India, 1755). Several lucrative branches of trade were, however, monopolized by the crown.—What were the consequences of the entire emancipation of the natives in 1755, cannot be determined.*

55. The northern states also continued to take a part in colonies and colonial trade. The possessions of Denmark in the West Indies remained, indeed, the same, (Vol. I. p. 290), but their culture increased, and the wars of other nations, frequently made their harbors staple places of the highest importance.

A Danish West India Company was formed 1734 with exclusive commercial privileges for the whole of the Danish West Indies. After its dissolution in 1764, the trade became free.

56. In East India, Denmark still held possession of Tranquebar, and the renewed East India Company pursued with success a trade both to India and China. Itself without pretensions to aggrandizement, it had little cause to apprehend exciting the envy of the powerful.

After the downfal of the old company 1730, a new one was chartered, 1732, with a fund, partly permanent, partly

* The complete charters of the two companies are to be found in the Collecçao etc. (see p. 58). Vol. I. ad annum 1755 and 1759. That of the company of Pernambuco is, for the most part, a verbal repetition of the previous one of Maranhao.—The law for the emancipation of the Indians in Maranhao, June 6th, 1755, (extended so as to comprehend all Brazil, May 8th, 1758) Collecçao, Vol. I. recals to memory the former regulations on the subject since 1570, especially those, repeated word for word, of 1647 and 1680, with the complaint, of how little good they had done.

moveable. Their patent, (renewed 1772) was exclusive for China alone, not for India, to which private intercourse was free under certain conditions. A new arrangement was made; and the company was relieved by the cession of their Indian possessions to the crown, 1777.*

57. In Sweden, the company, instituted at Gottenburg (Vol. I. p. 290), pursued its Indian trade with profit, yet almost exclusively to China. In the West Indies also, Sweden obtained a firm footing, by procuring the island of St. Bartholomew from France.

The charter of the East India Company was renewed 1746, 1766 and 1786, each time for twenty years. St. Bartholomew was gained in exchange for commercial concessions, July 1st, 1784.

58. Even the remote Russia not only participated in the Chinese trade, by means of caravans,
1741 but began, after the discovery of the Kurile and Aleutian islands, to carry on hunting and a trade in peltry there, which finally led to settlements on the coasts of North America, and
1787. the erection of a particular commercial company.

The trade, begun with China as early as 1692, by Peter I., was centered in Kiachta, as the grand place of exchange and staple. The trade remained the monopoly of the crown, till it was made free by Catharine II. in 1762.

59. What reflexions are excited by this diffusion of European dominion over half Asia, more than three quarters of America, and the coasts of

* Geschichte des Privathandels und der gegenwärtigen Besitzungen der Dänen in Ostindien von A. Hennings, 1784. (Oder: Gegenwärtiger Zustand der Europäer in Ostindien. Erster Theil). From the original documents.

Africa and Australia! Though it had its origin in the love of gain, it had been established and was maintained by intellectual superiority. As the barbarians remained most of them barbarians, so the Europeans remained Europeans, on the other side of the ocean. After these results of enterprise had become so thriving, ruin was no longer to be feared, different as were their fates in single points. Who could calculate the ultimate tendency of all this? Who could ascertain the limits of the immeasurable prospect which had opened?

THIRD PERIOD.

From 1740 *to* 1786.

SECOND PART.

HISTORY OF THE SYSTEM OF THE STATES OF NORTHERN EUROPE, IN THIS PERIOD.*

1. In this period, since Russia's greatness, the north of Europe stands in a closer connexion than

* For want of a general history of the north, we must here mention in advance:

Histoire de l'Anarchie re la Pologne et du démembrement de cette republique par Cl. Rulhiere. Paris. 1807. 4 Voll. 8vo. Conf. the critique of Dupont de Nemours, European Annals 1812. No. 8. 9. It goes to the first partition of Poland, 1772. Immediately indeed a leading work for the history of Poland only, and partially so for this; but important for that of the whole north; drawn from actual inspection, not from books. In this respect, one of the first works; but the perfect historian is not formed in the great world alone.

The Oeuvres posthumes de Fréderic II. apply to particular facts.

formerly with the west. But, with the exception of the period of the seven years' war, its influence was far more diplomatic than military. Though in the former section, we have found it necessary to glance at the north, it retains no less on that account its distinct history.

2. The relations of the north always depended, in a certain measure, on Russia, but in very different ways in the first and last part of this period. The accession of Catharine II. constitutes an epoch; and the period is naturally divided into two sections, before and after that event.

I. *From* 1740 *to Catharine* II., 1762.

3. In this period, the north of Europe offers, in a political respect, a perfect contrast with the former. Not a single prominent character appears, either on the throne, or in the cabinet, or on the field. Personal interests and passions, frequently of the most detestable kind, decided respecting the foreign, no less than the domestic relations of the states. While the leading empire was vegetating under an indolent, but for that a no less cruel despotism, anarchy was organized in the two bordering monarchies.

1. Russia. After the short but stormy reign of the minor, Ivan the Third, from Oct. 28th, 1740, to Dec. 6th, 1741, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Peter I., was raised to the throne by a revolution. Her sway (till Jan. 5th, 1762), beginning with the fall of the foreigners, seemed about to bring back the ancient barbarism to the empire. Foreign relations, divided between the privy councillor Lestoc and

Count Bestuschef Riumin, chancellor of the empire, after the overthrow of the former (Nov. 13th, 1748), came wholly under the management of the latter, till he also (Febr. 1758) prepared his own fall. The state subsisted, because it could not fall asunder, and was imposing, not by its spirit, but by its mass.*

2. Sweden, under the reign of Frederic of Hesse (†1751), and yet more of his successor Adolph Frederic, was an aristocracy, rather than a monarchy; and the contests of the factions of the nobility, fomented by the rankling hatred of Russia, seemed about to become most pernicious here, where actual poverty made foreign subsidies the principal resource. Thus foreign policy was able to use this state as an instrument to promote its plans; and as for the parties of Gillenborg and Horn—of the *hats* and the *caps*, as they called themselves—though in their maxims, the one was for war and the other for peace, what did they become in the midst of such various changes, but a French and an Anti-French party?†

3. Poland, under Augustus III. and Brühl (Vol. I. p. 312), was the image of anarchy at rest, as Sweden was of anarchy in action. To the people its misery, to the nobles their pleasures had become necessary. And matters of state were among these pleasures, where women managed them. In a people so enervated the Czartorinskies and Branickies were able to form their projects and parties without consequences and storms. Not attached to Russia, but crouching to its side, Poland was the shadow of liberty. If it could not protect itself, France and the Port seemed to be its natural guarantees; but even the alliance of France

* Respecting Lestoc and Bestuschef see Büsching's Magazine, 1768. B. II. Russia. No. 3. 4.

† Staatschriften des Grafen zu Lynar. 1793. Th. I. Under 1, 3, 4 and 7, they give by far the best accounts respecting the internal relations of Sweden in this period; perfectly confirmed by Flassan's accounts.

with Austria, and therefore with Russia, did not yet alarm; and foreign influence (seconded moreover by the relations of Courland), notwithstanding the activity of a Williams and Broglio, could do nothing more than form projects. Relations, not political, but of a different kind, were to prepare the future fate of Poland, after the young Poniatowsky (son of the sister of the Czartorinskies) having been introduced at the court of the grand prince at Petersburg, there formed for himself connexions.

4. DENMARK, having no rivalry with Sweden, since the fall of the latter, was happy enough, under Christian VI. (†1746) and Frederic V. (†1766), in being able to attend solely to its own affairs. Even the Russian cabinet under Elizabeth made the preservation of its friendship a maxim of state, on account of the relations with Sweden. What would have been wanting to its full security, had not the ancient feud with Holstein Gottorp darkened the prospect?

5. Concerning PRUSSIA, see page 70.

4. The period began, the empress Anne still reigning, with a Swedish Russian war, kindled, after the victory of the party of Gyllenborg in the diet, by France, in order not to be interrupted by Russia in its plans against Austria. It was hoped to reconquer the lost provinces round the Baltic—with Petersburg! Although waged very unsuccessfully by Sweden, the war was terminated by the peace at Abo on better terms, than could have been expected. A firm state of peace with Russia was not too dearly bought by the choice of a successor and an adjustment of the boundaries in Finland. But still the spirit of faction could not be repressed, since it found constant aliment in the machinations of France and Russia, the former aiming at the over-

1738.

throw, the latter at the preservation of the existing constitution.

Sweden declared war on Russia, Aug. 4th, 1741; but lost the battle at Willemstrand, Sept. 2nd, and then all Finland, for which the generals Lewenhaupt and Buddenbrok had to atone on the scaffold. Peace was concluded at Abo, Aug. 17th, 1743. Conditions: 1. The Kymen is made the boundary, by which the situation of Petersburg was secured. 2. The prince Adolphus Frederic of Holstein Gottorp, according to Elizabeth's wish, is appointed future successor in Sweden.

5. The choice, however, which Elizabeth made, shortly after her accession, of her future successor, had a great influence, not on Russia only, but on the whole of the north. She fixed on her nephew, the young duke of Holstein Gottorp, Charles Peter Ulrich, who, by right of birth, had an equally near prospect to the Swedish throne, which he resigned in favor of his cousin Adolphus Frederic. While these splendid prospects were opened to a collateral line of the house of Holstein, they must have troubled the direct reigning line in Denmark the more, since the young duke did by no means in his new hopes lose the deepest sense of the old grievances of his house. The consequence was a long series of negotiations for adjusting the ancient contests concerning Holstein and Sleswic, which left policy the lesson, how dangerous it is, to attempt to execute even the most useful projects at an unseasonable time.* 1741.

6. But since Frederic's appearance on the scene,

* The history of these protracted negotiations is given at large in:

Staatsschriften des Grafen zu Lynar. Th. I. No. 6.

the affairs of the west occupied the Russian cabinet, far more than the affairs of Russia itself. The question was not, whether the interest of Russia was espoused, but whether that of Prussia or of Austria. Since Lestoc's fall, the Aus-
1748. trian party was triumphant, to which not only Bestuchef, (for thus subsidies were to be drawn from England) but Elizabeth herself,—it may be doubted if she knew why—was devoted.

Russia made an alliance with Austria, June 12th, 1747, and a subsidiary treaty with England, for hastening the peace of Aix la Chapelle. (See p. 19).

7. Whether the increase of Prussia threatened danger to Russia was a problem for speculative politics; but the continued alliance with Austria and Saxony, which eventually led to a passionate participation in the seven years' war (p. 31), was not viewed from so high a point. Though Russia, in the end, derived no aggrandizement from this war, it, nevertheless, first established in the west the renown of Russian arms; just as Sweden, by an equally impolitic participation, lost its fame; and while all the power of Russia was turned to this object, the Port not only saw itself meanwhile secured, but even Poland could enjoy a kind of quiet, that prepared its fall.

8. But this passionate participation against Prussia created in the court itself such a division, that, in all probability, nothing but the fall of the per-
1758. fidious Bestuchef prevented a revolution, which he himself was desirous of producing. Three characters, so different in their principles and views as Elizabeth, Peter, and his young wife,

Catharine, could not live in harmony. Elizabeth died, at the right time, not only for Frederic, but perhaps also for herself.* 1762. Jan. 6th.

9. It was easy to foresee a total change of political relations under her successor, Peter III. He ascended the throne, illhumored at the treatment he had received, enthusiastic for Frederic, exasperated against Denmark. Yet, notwithstanding his alliance with the former (p. 34), his projects against Denmark might have met with great difficulties in the execution. But after a reign of hardly six months, a revolution precipitated him from the throne into the grave; and with his successor Catharine II. a new order of things began.† July 9th.

II. *From the accession of Catharine* II. *to the alliance with Joseph* II. 1762—1787.‡

10. The accession of Catharine evidently constitutes a new epoch not only for Russia, but for

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* Biographie Peter's des Dritten; Tübingen. 1808. 2 Theile.—The first volume illustrates the history before his accession with discernment and love of truth.

† Histoire de la Revolution de Russe en 1762 par Rhuliere.—This work could not be printed till after Catharine's death.—It is also annexed to the Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne T. IV. Though not free, perhaps, from single inaccuracies, it is still the leading work.

‡ A good biography of Catharine would almost form a history of this period. Till we obtain such an one, we must be content with:

Historie de Catharine II. Impératrice de Russie par J. Castera. T. I—III. Paris. An VIII. Respecting the history of the court and other single topics, the author or authors give good information.

the north in general. The ratification of the separate peace (though not of the alliance) with Prussia (p. 34) altered the relations of the north, by severing the alliance with Austria and leaving Catharine free scope.

11. It is of great importance to seize rightly the prevailing ideas in the policy of this princess. Even great historians have spoken of the dictatorship which she exercised or wished to exercise in Europe. But although her diplomacy encircled all Europe, she yet knew how to separate most accurately her sphere of practical influence. This embraced only the contiguous nations, the north and the Port, and never exceeded these limits. Even personal affronts could urge her to no farther step. Much of her greatness may be merely conventional; that her policy grew nobler with the progress of time, no one has maintained; but history will not deny her the rare honor, of having correctly estimated the strength of her dominions.

The indolent,—and yet indispensible—Panin was the minister of foreign affairs till 1781. But his influence was often outweighed by that of the favorite, Prince Gregory Orlow.

12. What a field for her projects was offered by her neighbors; Sweden, Poland, the Port, in a state of anarchy, and all the other powers exhausted! Under the name of a great Northern Alliance, comprehending also Prussia and England, the principality of Russia was to be established; but soon forsaking such projects, she found in Poland the real theatre for her exertions. Its geographical

situation must, of itself, have produced the relations it held towards the others.

13. What did Russia need in Poland, but the continuance of the existing anarchy? Under the pretence of preserving its liberty and constitution, a dominion could be founded, for which the nation had, as yet, to be grateful. The occupation of Courland, had originally occasioned the altercation; but the vacancy of the throne, occasioned by the death of Augustus III. brought about the decisive moment. Oct. 5th, 1763.

Prince Charles was driven from Courland, and Biron is again put in possession. 1763.

14. To give a king to Poland was now the decided wish of Catharine, although the final elevation of her former favorite was the work of her minister, rather than her own. To give Poland a king! how much did this include? If Frederic, and Maria Theresa, and Mustapha were to be the spectators, and France left unnoticed. What obstacles were to be surmounted in Poland itself, unless the decision was to be immediately effected by the bayonet. There was here no want of men of courage and experienced age. But what could individuals do, if the great body of the people, listening to no reason, regarded foreign tyranny as more tolerable, than domestic sway. Thus could the crafty favorite of the empress open an avenue, on which the high handed Repnin rapidly went forward to the mark; and the finely conceived plans of reform of the Czartorinskies were frustrated. Stanislaus Poniatowsky was elected under Russian arms. Sept. 7th, 1764.

15. No power could be more interested in these procedures than Prussia. But Frederic, without allies, and the foe of Austria, solicited Russia's alliance, ready to sacrifice Poland to it. Though perhaps his situation excuses this policy, of which the danger and degradation did not escape him, there is yet a limit of compliance which egotism itself does not readily exceed. That Frederic suffered the continuance of the Polish anarchy to be expressly made a condition, was a humiliation, which posterity cannot pardon the hero. Yet the great man was not wholly untrue to himself. He did not, at least, conceal from Poland, that it had nothing to expect from him.

A treaty of alliance was signed between Russia and Prussia, April 11th, 1764. The conditions were, a mutual defence and guarantee of all European possessions.—The preservation of the constitution of Poland was the subject of a secret article.

16. If this alliance settled the fate of Poland, perhaps of the whole north, Prussia now wanted a pretence, and nothing more, to acquire a perpetual rule in Poland. This was soon discovered in the cause of the *Dissidents*. By protecting them, a party was soon acquired, and, at the same time, the reputation of the defence of toleration. But the dullest eye could not but perceive, that this was much less the object, than the foundation of the despotism. It was not, therefore, blind fanaticism which impelled the patriotic party to resist; but its heads, a Soltik, Krasinsky, Pulaski (what characters!), stirred up fanaticism, because they found their support in that alone. Even Catha-

rine was apparently very desirous to produce it, since she soon demanded not merely toleration, but political equality for the dissidents.

If the toleration of all dissidents (those who were not Catholics,) was effected, the political equality could only refer to the dissident nobles, who were few in number. They themselves had asked no more than toleration. The Russian requisitions were declined Nov. 1766.

17. Through the instrumentality of Repnin, a general confederacy was formed at Radom by the union of the dissidents and other discontented persons, under Radziwil, who till now had been the enemy of the Russians and the king; and a diet was soon after convened at Warsaw. The adoption of the new laws, perpetuating the rights of the dissidents, and all the evils of the constitution, under the guarantee of Russia, was effected by force; but not till the bishops Soltik and Zaluski, and the Rzewuskies were arrested in Warsaw and sent to Siberia. Such men even a Repnin was unable to bend! 1767. June. 1767. Octr.

18. And yet they had miscalculated; because it had not been taken into consideration, that despair does not calculate at all. A counter confederacy was formed at Bar, prepared by Bishop Krasinsky, and accomplished by Pulaski and Potocki. The object of the confederates now was the change of their union into a general confederacy for the dethronement of the king, who, always inclining to the Russian side, could never have gained the confidence of such a party. But a war, marked with all the cruelties of devastation, must first have opened them the way; and they soon 1768. Febr.

had to experience how little the highest courage, unless fortune and number give it the superiority, can effect against a methodical art of war.

19. One hope, however, remained; and it was not delusive! The policy of the Port had not altered, like that of the Christian courts. If the latter believed it necessary to yield, in the divan the old idea still lived, to allow no Russian army in Poland. The evacuation of Poland had always been, therefore, the constant demand of the Port from Russia; and nothing but the gross ignorance of the Divan would have made it possible to deceive it so long. The requisitions of the confederates and the influence of France finally prevailed. The Port declared war on Russia.

1768. Oct. 30th.

20. Thus the theatre expanded of itself, and peace could hardly be expected without great changes in the north. It was purchased at last by a six years' contest, which taught Catharine, what she could do in the cabinet and on the field. Austria and Prussia looked on; Frederic paid his stipulated subsidies.

21. The war proceeded on land and sea. New and bold plans were projected to penetrate beyond the Danube; to urge the Greeks to rebellion; to despatch a squadron from the Baltic to the Archipelago, and menace the capital; to contract alliances in Egypt, in order to tear it from the Port; —and all were executed, but only in part. A peace of almost thirty years had lulled the energies of the Port; but a Romanzoff had first to be formed among the Russians.

A campaign was made on the Riester under Gallizin against the allied Turks and Tartars, 1769, with little success. Possession was taken of the abandoned Choczim, Sept. 9th.—Romanzoff was invested with the command, who subdued Moldavia, after the victory on the Pruth, July 18th, 1770; and Walachia after the greater victory on the Kagul, Aug. 1. Bender was conquered by Panin, Sept. 1st.—Meanwhile, the Russian fleet under Alexis Orloff made its appearance in the Archipelago, obtained a victory at Scio, 5th of July, and burned the Turkish fleet at Tchesme July 16th, without making any farther use of the victory.—In the following campaign of 1771, a defensive war was waged on the Danube; the Crimea was conquered by Dolgoruky. A connexion was contracted with the (then) victorious Ali Bey in Egypt. The year 1772 elapsed with fruitless negotiations between Romanzoff and the Grand Vizier at Foczani and Bucharest.—A separate treaty was made with the Tartars in the Crimea. The war was renewed 1773. Romanzoff crossed the Danube; made a useless siege of Silistria, and retreated across the river.—Ali Bey was defeated and taken prisoner in Egypt, May 7th.*

22. But although Catharine was so happy as not to be interrupted in her undertakings by the participation of other powers, she had been occupied by affairs of another kind, partly in the interior of her own empire, partly in the neighboring states. A desolating pestilence spread to Moscow; and the insurrection of a common Cossack Pugatschef, who gave himself out for Peter 1771.

* A clear light is shed over Romanzoff's campaign by the well known correspondence, in their own hand writings, between the empress and him.

Respecting the revolution attempted by Ali Bey:

(Lousignan) Histoire de la Revolution d'Ali Bey. T. I. II. 1783; and the accounts of Volney in Voyage en Syrie et en Aegypte.

1773. III. employed an important part of her troops, and even threatened to shake her throne. But in two neighboring kingdoms two most opposite revolutions were taking place at the same time; in Sweden contrary to, in Poland, according to, her wishes.

23. The Swedish revolution, produced by Gustavus III., preserved the independence of this kingdom. The violence of the factions of the nobility, led solely by family interests and foreign influence, offers a much more disgusting aspect than in Poland. Not even a mistaken feeling of patriotism; not even single eminent characters. Nothing but the weakness of the two former kings could have allowed such a state of things to continue. But in one respect, Sweden was superior to Poland; it still had a class of free citizens and peasants; and in this consisted the possibility of its salvation.

Since the victory of the *Hats* in the diet of 1738 (p. 119), this party and with it the influence of France (subsidiary treaty, Nov. 10th, 1738; renewed 1747 and 1754), maintained themselves till the diet of 1762. When France could or would pay nothing more, the *Caps* triumphed, and the English Russian influence began. A treaty was made with England, Feb. 5th, 1766. But both parties, each in the time of its superiority deemed it necessary to restrict the regal power; till in the diet extraordinary of 1769, France purchased again its influence, in the vain hope of alleviating Poland and the Port by exciting a war. King Adolphus Frederic died, Feb. 11th, 1771.*

24. Gustavus III, appeared. He seemed to

* Compare Flassan Histoire (Vol. I. p. 5). T. V. p. 457. etc.

have derived much from Frederic, his grand uncle; the eye of genius, elevation of mind, every splendid talent. One thing only was wanting; that coolness of character, without which no man can form himself to be a great ruler. To remain in a state, such as his, was for him impossible. The bloodless revolution, altogether his work, is also his greatest achievement; alike beneficial for himself and the state. Not the states of the kingdom, the council only was overturned.

The revolution broke out and was completed in Stockholm, Aug. 19th, 1772; in understanding with France. The new constitution left the states their rights; the council of the kingdom was merely deprived of its share in the government. No aggressive war could be waged without the consent of the states.—It was not the fault of the constitution, if any thing was wanting to national happiness.*

25. This restoration of the royal power in Sweden operated differently on the relations of the north in general. England beheld it with dissatisfaction, because France saw it with pleasure; the others had no objections; Russia alone had to feel it deeply, that no dominion could now be founded in Sweden as in Poland. But Catharine was sufficiently mistress of herself, to restrain her displeasure. She was too much occupied on other sides.

The embarassment of Frederic as guarantee of the Swedish constitution against Russia, was removed by the media-

* C. F. Sheridan's History of the late revolution in Sweden. London. 1778. 8vo. The author was secretary to the English embassy in Stockholm. The work gives a clear and, for the most part, impartial survey of the earlier internal relations, subsequent to 1720.

tion of Austria; and his mediation again preserved the good understanding with Denmark, where after Struensee's fall, Jan. 17th, 1772, the widowed queen Juliana Maria had, for a short time, seized on the helm of state.

26. The fate of Poland drew near its decision in another way. The activity of the confederacy of Bar had not relaxed during the Turkish war; it had declared the throne vacant, and had dared to remove the king from his own residence. But the Port had enough to do for itself; and the increasing preponderance of Russia finally seemed so dangerous to Austria also, that a further extension of the war was to be apprehended.

1771. Nov. 3rd.

The Austrian cabinet was resolved not to permit the Russians to penetrate beyond the Danube, as was then meditated. Austria had also claimed and occupied the county of Zip, as formerly pledged to Poland.

27. Under these circumstances, on occasion of a visit of prince Henry of Prussia to Petersburg, a project was matured, to reestablish peace at the expense of Poland. Though prince Henry and Catharine were its first authors, Frederic soon became its zealous advocate. Whatever share accident may have had in its origin, is, on the whole, of less importance, than that it could be matured. Deep as public morals may sink, they can never sink so low, that the calmly concerted robbery of a neighbor should need a commentary. It was a fruit of the policy of aggrandizement and compactness of territory, proceeding from the divided situation of the Prussian monarchy.

Negotiations were entered upon respecting the first parti-

tion of Poland, at first between Prussia and Russia, and then between Prussia and Austria. These negotiations were followed Aug. 5th, 1772, by the treaty of partition, by virtue of which, 1. Russia obtained the country between the Dwina, Dnieper and Drutsch. 2. Austria, what was then East Galicia and Lodomiria. 3. Prussia, all Polish Prussia (except Dantzic and Thorn) and the part of Great Poland as far as the Netze ; which boundaries were afterwards extended at will by Austria and Prussia. The three powers not only guaranteed mutually to each other what they had taken, but also—the remainder to Poland.*

28. The consent of the nation was acquired by force in the diet at Warsaw after possession had already been taken. But Catharine was not willing to relinquish or divide her dominion in the rest of Poland; and who dared to contradict her? The erection of the perpetual council, and the guarantee of the kingdom as elective, and the *liberum veto* ensured to her the lead, which, after Repnin's recall, ambassadors even of a military cha-

* Mémoires et actes authentiques relatifs aux négociations, qui ont précédées le partage de la Pologne ; tirés du portefeuille d' un ancien ministre du 18me siécle (le comte de Goertz) 1810. From this source has been mostly drawn the narration in von Dohm's Denkwürdigkeiten Vol. I., and the additions in Vol. II., by which a clear light has been shed over the origin and progress of this deed of violence, of which Frederic, to be sure, was not the author.

Vie privée, publique et militaire, du prince Henry de Prusse, Paris. 1809. This book gives a good account of the origin of the first Polish partition, as well as several contributions to the history of the progress of the system of connecting their territories among the great. The brother of Frederic had no other policy. He conferred quite as calmly with Joseph concerning the partition of Germany, as with Catharine concerning the partition of Poland.

racter were able to take. As for the affair of the dissidents, it was—suffered to rest on itself.

29. But what were the consequences for Poland, in comparison with those, which threatened the political system of Europe. The potentates themselves had begun its subversion! Politicians consoled themselves, indeed, and so did Frederic, that the balance of power would be upheld in the north by the nearly equal division. So fearfully had the error taken root, that this is to be sought in the material power of the state, and not in the preservation of the maxims of international law. What dismemberment could be illegal, if this should be regarded as lawful? And what state could be more interested in maintaining the law of nations, than Prussia, that state conquered by peace meal, and brought together by compacts and treaties of peace?

30. This first Polish partition, in connexion with a successful campaign, facilitated the compromise between Russia and the Turks; since Catharine remitted her claims to Moldavia and Walachia, and the resolute Mustapha III. had been succeeded by his unequal brother, Abdul-Hamid. The manner in which the peace was concluded at Kainardgé, near Silistria, without foreign mediation, fully proved that she could dictate it.

1774. Jan. 21st.

Romanzoff crossed the Danube a second time and surrounded the Grand Vizier in the mountains of Bulgaria. A short negotiation was made in the Russian camp between Repnin and Achmet Effendi, and the peace was concluded at Kutschuk Kainardgé, July 21st. Conditions: 1. The

Tartars in the Crimea and in Cuban were to be independent under their Khan. 2. The conquests, especially Moldavia and Walachia, were restored to the princes, appointed by the Port. Russia reserved, however, the right of taking an interest in their affairs at Constantinople. 3. Russia retained Kinburn and Azoph, as also in the Crimea, Jenikale and Kertsch with their districts, besides the greater and less Cabardia. 4. Commercial navigation was to be free in the Black sea and in all the Turkish seas. 5. Several arrangements were made respecting the prerogatives of the Russian ambassador to the Port, the Russian consul, the imperial title, etc.

31. By this peace and the Polish partition, an order of things was established, which seemed merely a transition to further convulsions. The alliance of Russia with Prussia continued in form; after the Swedish revolution, a secret alliance had been formed with Denmark; the ascendency in Poland was confirmed; the relations with Sweden were very doubtful; those with the Port very complicate. But what was the increase of the physical powers of Russia, compared with the moral. After Catharine had succeeded in these great trials of her strength, she first learned to perceive what she was able to do. To enable her to make full use of the strength of her vast empire, nothing was wanting but a methodical internal organization. For this also she found time. The new division into governments, and the whole administration founded on it, beneficial in many respects, was on that account no less suited to the woman, who would herself be the efficient ruler.

1773.

1776.

32. It was about this time, that the new favor-

ite Potemkin rose. Of the sparks of genius, peculiar to the Titan race of the Orloffs, none seemed to have fallen on him; his impulses proceeded not so much from desire of power and fame, as from avarice and the love of orders. At the side of a monarch, capable of high and bold ideas, he flattered her; and supported by the haughtiness, suited to his world, he acquired and maintained an influence, which determined the destinies of the north.

Potemkin (since 1776, a prince of the German empire), was the only one of Catharine's favorites, whose great political influence began, after he had left the station of favorite. From 1778 to his death in 1791, he had almost the sole direction of foreign relations.*

33. From this time, the Grecian project received its form. To rear a Grecian empire on the ruins of the empire of the Ottomans, and to place a prince of her house on the new throne was now the darling idea of Catharine. This scheme had been much advanced by the last war, and still more by the last peace. The great difficulties could not but be seen; but even these gave it for her a greater charm, and in the worst event, it seemed possible to remove them, by a partition in the case of Turkey, as in that of Poland.†

* Potemkin der Taurier, in the Minerva of von Archenholz, in numbers from April 1797 to Dec. 1800. The well informed author of this biography has been as yet contradicted in no essential point.

† The correspondence, psychologically and physically interesting, of Catharine with von Zimmerman, contained in his Verhaltnisse mit der Kaiserin von Markard 1803. contains (Lettre XXVI), the confession of the empress herself on this subject. The origin and progress of this project has been best developed in von Dohm Denkwürdigkeiten B. II.

34. This project was, however, and continued to be for a long time a mere idea; and when a second war broke out with the Turks ten years after, insurmountable obstacles in the way of its execution were soon disclosed. But even as an idea, it had too great an influence to remain unnoticed. From this time, the Port remained the aim of Russian policy; the dislike conceived against Sweden thus found another channel; the ancient domestic contest with Denmark (the subject of so long, fruitless negotiations, p. 121), was settled by an exchange and a present, and it determined the other relations with foreign countries.

The ancient claims of Holstein Gottorp were adjusted by the exchange of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst for the country of Holstein Gottorp, 1773, June 1st.—Oldenburg was conferred as a duchy on the younger line, as yet unprovided for, of the house of Holstein Gottorp, July 14th.*

35. The alliance with Prussia, the work of Panin, now lost its importance; it afforded no assistance against the Turks, and the purpose, for which it had been intended, was attained. But without the acquiescence of England and the aid of Austria, it seemed impossible to put the project in execution; to gain them both was therefore the plan of Potemkin. The connexion with England was near a conclusion, when Panin averted the stroke by the armed neutrality (see p. 91), which 1780.

Though the aged Munnich first gave the suggestion to Catharine, it was encouraged by Voltaire in his Tocsin des Rois, and yet more in his letters to the empress.

* Leben des Grafen A. P. von Bernstorf von v. Eggers. 1800. gives the best accounts of this, as well as of the Danish politics.

would have made him, with the Prussian alliance, superfluous; and in the execution of this new project, a new career of glory was opened for Catharine, by which her ancient purpose was removed from her mind. But Potemkin did not for that reason lose it out of sight; he had nothing to gain from the armed neutrality.

36. If the conditions of the peace at Kainardgé, from their very nature, presaged a truce, rather than a lasting peace, it was less to be doubted, that, after politics had taken this direction, the thread of the disputes would be broken off. The dominion of the Black Sea waa apparently the necessary condition of the accomplishment of the leading plan; and this again implied the dominion of the Crimea and the contiguous countries. Thus the relations of this peninsula afforded materials for the demands of Russia, which at last terminated with its subjugation to Russian sway.

The Crimea and the plains of Cuban (little Tartary), a remaining fragment of Gengis Khan's vast empire, stood from 1441 each under its Khan, from the house of the conqueror. The Khans were taken by Mahomed II. in 1474, under the protection of the Port, which appointed the successors from the reigning house, without exacting tribute. In these Nomads, the Port beheld faithful and powerful allies, devoted to it by religion and policy. How often was it assisted by their numerous armies of cavalry. What could their independence, stipulated of the Port in the peace of 1774, be but the establishment of the Russian principality, which was also provided for by the other conditions; and this principality led to complete subjection. Disputes arose with the Port after the peace, and were allayed by the *Convention explicatoire*, March 10th, 1779, by which the Port

acknowledged the Khan Sahin Guerai, the protégé of Russia. New disputes arose, and the Khan, banished by the Tartars themselves, was reinstated 1782. But the Crimea and Cuban were formally occupied in 1783, and incorporated into the Russian empire, in which transaction the Port saw itself finally compelled to acquiesce by the treaty of Jan. 8th, 1784. By this the river Cuban was agreed upon, as the boundary; but most of the Tartars, exasperated and cruelly abused, left the country.*

37. The immediate consequence of this peaceful conquest was the establishment of a navy on the Black Sea. Who would not now have expected the accomplishment of the chief project? But the building of the fleet cost time; and the intermediate events in the west, the Bavarian war of succession, the league of the princes, etc. admitted of no precipitation. The whole game of the political relations of the north seemed in general to disappoint almost all calculations, because it was so frequently determined by the personal conferences of the princes. Who was not attracted by Catharine's splendid court, and still more by herself? If Frederic did not himself come, he at one time sent his *alter ego*, his brother prince Henry, at another, the heir of his throne. Gustavus III. displayed the splendor of his genius; Joseph II. came to see; for Stanislaus Poniatowsky, a later journey was in reserve! The meeting of such talented princes could not be without consequences; but certainly, they were not themselves able, to calculate the results beforehand.

* Mémoires du Baron de Tott, etc. (see p. 76.) and von Dohm Denkwürdigkeiten. B. II. The monster Paul Potemkin caused 30,000 Tartars to be massacred.

It is important for the history of politics to fix the dates of these meetings. Prince Henry's first journey, 1771. Consequence: the first partition of Poland. The second: 1776. Consequence: the confirmation of the alliance with Prussia by the second marriage of the heir to the Russian throne.—Was the project perhaps already started of a new division of Poland? Gustavus III. arrived in 1777. Consequence: mutual distrust, afterwards leading to war. First meeting of Catharine and Joseph II. in Mohilow, and then in Petersburg, 1780. Consequence: the subsequent alliance against the Port was concerted, and the scheme for the exchange of Bavaria. The ensuing arrival of the crown prince of Prussia produced nothing but court-festivals—and a friendship with the heir apparent.*

38. Since Joseph's visit, therefore, Russian policy obtained a fixed direction. The alliance with Prussia was weakened, and that with Austria formed anew. If the armed neutrality kept England aloof, the other leading states were gained by advantageous treaties of commerce; who could contract them like Russia? Potemkin's political influence now rose to its zenith; the consequences were the disputes respecting the Crimea and its subjugation (see above). To protect the new conquests required a numerous army; and while Potemkin, raised to the dignity of field marshal, was appointed at the same time governor general of Taurida, he became possessed of a civil and military power, which may at other times have been taken, but has seldom been granted.

Of the number of treaties of commerce, that Catharine then concluded, we must mention: that with Denmark, Oct.

* Ueber die Reise des Kronprinzen. Von Dohm Denkwürdigkeiten, B. II. in the appendix to the first part.

19th, 1782 (regulating, among other things, the duties in the sound to be paid by Russia), with Austria, Nov. 12th, 1785. (The privileges of the most favored nations were mutually accorded. A tariff was made for Hungarian wines, for Russian leather, peltry, etc); but above all with France Jan. 11th, 1787, (see p. 79), by which England's jealousy was excited. They all contained a repetition of the maxims of the armed neutrality.

39. Nothing was wanting but the actual inspection of the empress herself, to give to the new conquest its full importance in the eyes of herself and the world. Catharine's famous journey to Taurida, similar in its pomp to a triumphant procession, was at the same time a homage, done to Potemkin. But it was made more important by the consummation of the alliance with Austria; for Joseph II. hastened in his travelling carriage to meet her. 1787. Jan. to June.

40. The Tauridian (Catharine rewarded in the Roman fashion), thus saw his plans near their accomplishment. Though the conditions of the alliance, that was concluded, remained a secret, the consequences soon disclosed its reality. Whether a war against the Port was formally concerted may be doubtful, but all preparations were made; and Potemkin, by diplomatic skill, took care that the Port, notwithstanding its apathy, should soon be the first to declare it against Russia.*

* The general opinion that it was concerted has been denied by Segur, Hist. de Fred. Guill. II., Catharine's travelling companion. But did the French ambassador know all that was concerted?

41. In this way, a storm was prepared against the Port, which seemed to forebode its overthrow. But never has destiny made more cruel mockery of political skill. Many, who imagined themselves strong, lay in the dust; and the state, devoted to destruction, rose in pride over the ruins of Europe.

THIRD PERIOD.

From the death of Frederic the Great and the commencement of the revolutionary age, to the overthrow of the imperial throne of France and the restoration of the liberty of the political system of Europe. 1786—1820.

1. Though the death of Frederic the Great was not an event, that constituted a general epoch, it was, however, immediately followed by those great convulsions of states, which give the ensuing period a character, so different from the former. The contemporary world, which lived in it, calls it the revolutionary; it is as yet too early to decide with what name it will be denoted by posterity, after the lapse of a century. Probably the constitutional; for the struggle after regular but free constitutions is the thread, that guides through the whole confusion. But who will thus early determine, to what end this struggle may at last lead? Whether, as is to be hoped, to regular monarchical or republican constitutions, or to autocratic governments? The elements of either exist in abundance. The most desirable, at all times, will be, a diversity of constitutions, adapted to the character and wants of the people. That the same thing is not and will not be suited to all, none but the short sighted can deny.

2. The attempts, which had been hitherto made to subvert the freedom of the European political system, were unsuccessful. At the death of Frederic, the proud structure stood erect, apparently unshaken and firm; if an overthrow was feared, it was in the east and not in the west. The times, however, were impending, in which it was to experience severer storms, and, after being thrown down, to rise again from its ruins. After the catastrophe, which disappointed all expectation, it may be easier to unravel its causes. But do not the elements of it lie already in the preceding investigations?

3. He, who threw a deeper glance into the interior of the leading states, could not avoid remarking, that the constitutions of the majority of them had by no means continued to improve, but had rather outlived themselves. That of Spain, since the Cortes had ceased, rested on the inquisition and the Catholic religion; that of France, since the disappearance of the states general, was an autocracy, but at war in itself and already for a long time involved in a silent internal contest, by the disputes with the parliament; that of the Republic, always misshapen, now without support, was torn by factions; the German empire, burdened by its tardy forms, was hardly able to move; that of Prussia, was an artificial administration, now deprived of its mainspring, but no constitution; that of Austria, where it had one, was plunged in a reform, which soon proved unsuccessful; Poland and the Port were in acknowledged anarchy. The efforts of the rulers to obtain unlimited pow-

er had overthrown the old national freedom in all the states of the continent; the assemblies of the states had disappeared or were reduced to mere forms; no where had they been formed into a true national representation.

4. But the idea of it not only lived in theory, disseminated and fostered by the first writers of the day, but was seen permanently realized in the neighboring happy island state. It could not therefore pass away from practical politics, and was necessarily, in the storms of the following period, the polar star, which was ever kept in view in all the aberrations of the times.

5. But it was not merely the relation of the rulers to their subjects, it was no less the relation of the states to each other, which had been altered with the gradual dissolution or transformation of the old feudal constitutions. How little did the present class of citizens, how little did the present nobility resemble those of earlier times? Did the latter still form the nation, or only the principal constituent part of it? Could any one still contest the claims of the former to be regarded as a part of the nation? Did the nobility fulfil the obligations, under which they had obtained their great privileges? The more the burdens of the state became oppressive, the louder were the demands, that they should be borne equally by all. Thus in every convulsion, the privileged classes were threatened almost yet more than the princes. And yet the ancient constitutions were founded on this very difference of classes.

6. For the strength of the states no other crite-

rion was known, than standing armies. And in reality there hardly was any other. By the perfection, which they had attained, and which made almost equal steps with the growing power of the princes, the line of partition was gradually drawn between them and the nation; they only were armed; the nations were defenceless. What remained but subjection, if the army should be routed and destroyed? Thus the days of Zama and Pydna could return; and one defeat decide the fate of mighty empires.

7. How much more, if we compare these military with the pecuniary powers, without which they were utterly dead? And they were indeed almost dead for all practical purposes. Not a state of the continent was able to wage a great war of length with its own resources; subsidies or extortions alone of a new kind rendered it possible. The time had thus come, when the carrying of the system too far punished itself. The fearful consequences of this difference must needs have been unfolded at the first opportunity.

8. But if these political supports were tottering, the moral were no less shattered. The corner stone of that political system, the sanctity of legitimate possession, without which there would be only one war of all against all, was gone; politics had already thrown off the veil in Poland; the lust of aggrandizement had prevailed. The unhappy error, encouraged by statistical writers, which places the strength of a state in its physical power, and estimates its increase by square miles and the revenue in money, had taken deep root. If the

system did not fall at once, it was prevented, not by the acknowledged maxims of international law, but by mutable relations. The indissoluble bond, connecting morals and politics, resulted in making egotism the prevailing principle of public as of private life.

9. And yet who does not see that a political system, in which pure egotism is the principle, is near its dissolution? Above all, a system of states, so unequal as the European, which had been hitherto upheld only by alliances against the too powerful? Experience soon proved, that alliances attended by sacrifices, were regarded as folly by the cabinets; and yet what are alliances without sacrifices?

10. But new maxims had not only become prevalent in the morals of the cabinets; new opinions were diffused among the nations themselves, which were in opposition to the existing order of things. And do not all human institutions, states and their constitutions, rest ultimately on opinions? Since the sophisms of the popular sovereignty, as the basis of the state in general, therefore of the monarchical state also, had been circulated by writers, they had received an apparent confirmation from the independence of North America; and the defenders of America transported them to Europe. Democratic ideas were thus spread and cherished in the midst of the monarchical system; the ready materials for a conflagration, far more formidable, if a burning spark should fall on them, than their authors had anticipated. Others had already taken care to profane

the popular religion; and what remains sacred to the people, when religion and constitution are profaned?

11. In addition to this was the change of morals, proceeding from alterations that took place in social life among the higher and middle classes, which had a necessary reaction on public existence. Instead of natural improvement, its aim was mere pastime; and what ought to have been recreation soon became a daily necessity in clubs and similar societies of men. That the foundations of the state can be shaken by the forms of private life, no one seemed ever to suspect, while, with the exception of the relations of service, a social equality was introduced, which stood in direct contradiction with the inequality, unavoidable in monarchical states. Did not this tend immediately to dissolve the tenderest and the strongest ties?*

12. One peculiar form of these social relations consisted in the secret societies; which arose in most of the countries, since the middle of the century, through the diffusion of free masonry over the continent of Europe. Foreign as political objects are or should be from this society, it was, nevertheless, exposed to abuse, like every other institution, especially in the countries, where it was oppressed or persecuted. The dangers for

* Ueber den Einfluss und die Wirkungen des Zeitgeistes auf die höhern Stände Deutschlands: von E. Brandes. 1810. A continuation of the work: Betrachtungen ueber den Zeitgeist in Deutschland. 1808.—A bitter but true delineation of the dark side of the age.

the states did not proceed so much from itself as from the other societies, which only imitated its form. Of this the society of the Illuminati gave the first striking proof in Germany. 1784.

The expression, secret society, denotes either a society, which conceals its existence, and thus endeavors to withdraw from the inspection of the state. Such a one, though not always liable to punishment, is always exposed to suspicion. Or it denotes a society, which conceals, not its existence, but its tenets, by delivering them under the mask of symbols. Freemasonry belongs to the latter class. To the former it belongs in those places only, where, contrary to its design, it attempts to continue as a society, against the prohibition of the state. But the mode of communicating its tenets is not sufficient to make the tenets themselves suspicious.

13. Added to all this was the turn that literature had taken in all the principal countries of Europe. It had become, in a higher degree, the literature of journals and gazettes, and could not but degenerate in proportion not only as the number, but also, especially by means of the French Moniteur, as the size of the gazettes increased. The constant ferment in which their periodical appearance enabled them to keep the public mind, banished all interest for other subjects; they were alike the lever of policy and the means of guiding or misguiding public opinion; and so it could finally come to pass, that the question of the preservation of the states was connected with the question of the preservation of the freedom of the press.

14. Threatening as these circumstances were, yet it seemed possible in the usual course of things

for every thing to continue, as it was; and no one had any presentiment of the impending catastrophe. But in this consisted the danger, that every thing in Europe was calculated for the usual state, and every thing was thrown out of its course, so soon as any unusual condition broke in.

15. The following period is naturally divided into three divisions, between which the peace of Campo Formio (because, from this peace, after Catharine's death, begins the active participation of the north in the disputes of the west, which has, subsequently, closely united Europe into one political system), and the establishment, and the overthrow of the imperial throne of France constitute the points of separation.*

* As a collection of documents besides the Recueil par Mr. de Martens, Vol. I. p. 3. especially :

Recueil des principaux traités etc. conclus entre la republique française et les differentes puissances de l'Europe depuis 1792 jusqu' à la paix générale (par G. Gebhard). P. I. II. à Goettingue. 1796. P. III. IV. à Hambourg et Paris. 1803.

A real pragmatic history of the whole period is reserved for a later generation. The most perfect narrative of the events is to be found in :

F. Saalfeld Allgemeine Geschichte der neuesten Zeit, seit dem Anfange der Französischen Revolution : in four divisions, each in two volumes, the last of which has not yet appeared.

FIRST DIVISION OF THE PERIOD.

From 1786 *to the peace at Campo Formio,* 1797.

FIRST PART.

HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE SOUTH OF EUROPE IN THIS PERIOD.

I. *Public Contests in Europe till* 1797.*

16. Diversified in their origin as were the internal disturbances of the states in this period, there was always manifest in them the struggle after more free constitutions. The former rested far more on ancient usage than written documents; but for this reason, so much more violent must have been the shock in the revolutions, for written

* Histoire des principaux évènemens du regne de Fréderic Guillaume II., roi de Prusse; et tableau politique de l'Europe depuis 1786 jusqu'en 1796, contenant un précis des révolutions de Brabant, de Hollande, de Pologne et de France, par L. P. Segur, l'ainé; Ex-Ambassadeur; Paris. 1800. III. Voll.—The title itself shows that it is a general history of the period, attached to that of Frederic William II. The author was the royal French ambassador in Petersburg. The sections, which respect the north, are therefore of greater value. An aversion to Prussia and England may be expected; but it is, notwithstanding, one of the best works.

Among the German political journals, the most complete is: das politische Journal (p 7). The richest in single, interesting essays is: Minerva von v. Archenholz (three voll. annually since 1793.)

constitutions never acquire stability, till established by prescription. In policy, however, the simplest truths are generally acknowledged with the greatest difficulty; and this explains the erroneous presumption, that not only every thing can be fixed in the original document of a constitution, but also that nothing is necessary but its introduction, to secure its permanency.

17. Though the death of Frederic the Great, occurring in a period of profound quiet, produced no immediate perceptible consequences, as his successor retained his ministers, yet the chasm he left was far too great, for those consequences not to disclose themselves soon. The chief relations of Europe had been formed by his mind, maintained by his character; but the latter was inherited by his successor still less than the former. And Frederic had never formed a minister, who was competent to take the direction.

18. The first deviation from the policy of his predecessor was the active participation in the Dutch disturbances; the first link in that chain of revolutions, which was to overturn Europe. One step here inevitably involved another. These disturbances had their origin, while Frederic yet lived, in the disputes of the Orange and patriotic parties concerning the rights of the stadtholder, which the patriotic party wished to impair or wholly to abolish. The influence of England and France had fomented the disputes; but Frederic had remained contented with recommending a reconciliation. His successor made a family affair a matter of state, and the easy overpowering of the

patriots, forsaken as they were by France, led to a new series of relations.

The Dutch disturbances were a result of the germ of corruption in the constitution, modified by the relations of the times. The patriotic party, prevailing in the maritime cities, was something more than the old party of the states, though originating for the most part in it.—The hatred arose during the war with England 1780, and the hereditary stadtholder was accused of duplicity. It was increased during and after the peace 1783 by French and English influence. The patriotic party acquired the superiority, and a defensive alliance of the republic with France was made by Vergennes, Nov. 10th, 1785.—Attacks were made on the rights of the stadtholder, and he was removed from the Hague, 1786.—Bodies of armed patriots now made their appearance, a sight new in Europe, which learned the lesson from America! The Orange party was possessed of little internal unity; the patriotic was destitute of adequate leaders and a fixed positive purpose. Who indeed could imagine, that the successors of Vergennes (†Febr. 13th, 1787) would accomplish so absolutely nothing!—Prussia intervened, and a proclamation was promulgated July 10th, after the procrastinated journey of the wife of the stadtholder, June 29th. Possession was easily taken of Holland by a Prussian corps, under the Duke of Brunswick, Sept. 1787.*

19. The natural consequence of this catastro-

* An introduction to the history of the Dutch Republic for the last ten years, reckoning from the year 1777 (by Sir J. Harris, at that time British ambassador; others say, by his secretary Ellis). London. 1788. By no means a history, but a sketch of the internal relations. Harris himself does not conceal the deficiences of the Orange party.

Mémoire sur la Revolution de la Hollande par le citoyen Caillard (then French Chargé d'affaires at the Hague), inserted in: Segur Hist. de Fred. Guill. T. I. A very lucid delineation and narration by a confidant of the patriotic party; and in the spirit of that party.

phe for the republic was the reinstatement of the stadtholder in his old and new rights; but in an extent and with a severity, that it almost seemed to be forgotten, that there still existed a republic and an opposite party. The continuance of the constitution was, however, to be ensured by strangers, and this led of itself to a triple alliance with England and Prussia, the effects of which, by establishing again the influence of England on the continent, spread in the following years over the rest of Europe, and particularly the north.

An alliance was first made of the two powers with the Republic and a guarantee of the office of stadtholder and all its rights, April 15th, 1788. A defensive alliance was next formed between England and Prussia at Loo, June 13th. A mutual guarantee was made of all possessions. Prussia therefore became a guarantee of the English colonies.

20. During these storms in the United Netherlands, a similar spirit of turbulence began to rage in the Austrian Netherlands. It was roused by the plans of innovation of Joseph II., strengthened by his inconsistency; but when the insurrection had proceeded to a declaration of independence, the insurgents quarrelled among themselves, and there was no chief, capable of keeping the whole together. While it was desired in Flanders to retain the old constitution of the states, the democrats in Brabant desired a popular sovereignty. It was therefore easy for Leopold II., after the death of Joseph, to appease the tumult, since the insurgents saw themselves besides deceived in their hopes of Prussian assistance.

The disturbances had their origin in 1787, on account of

the encroachments on the privileges accorded to the states in the *Joyeuse Entrée*, by the introduction of a new constitution of courts, church and universities. Tumultuous scenes occurred in several towns; the orders given were recalled Sept. 2nd, 1787. But the continued attempts to make changes in the universities of Louvain gave nourishment to the strife with the clergy and the states. Subsidies were refused the emperor, Jan. 1789. The privileges of the states of Brabant were annulled, June 18th, 1789. The insurrection was renewed by van der Noot, the patriots were armed, and the imperial troops expelled July—Nov. A sovereign congress of all the provinces, except Luxemburg, was erected; and independence declared Jan. 4th, 1790. But internal factions were soon formed; and after Leopold II.'s accession, the strife was allayed by the ratification of the ancient privileges at the congress of Reichenbach, Dec. 10th.*

21. The efforts at revolution in several small states, such as Liege, Aix la Chapelle, Geneva, which were made at this time, may by no means pass unnoticed; since they are so many proofs of the prevailing spirit. Different as they were in other respects, they all coincided in the circumstance, that a democratic party attempted to overturn the existing order of things. But the manner in which they were suppressed, though by armed mediation, gave a striking evidence of the respect, still entertained for the rights even of small states.

The rebellion in Liege against the sovereign bishop was to maintain the rights of the states, Aug. 17th, 1789. The imperial chamber issued a mandate Aug. 17th, and the execution was entrusted to the direction of the circle of Westphalia. After some remarkable proceedings, Prussia finally

* For want of a good history, the materials which as yet are the best, are contained in the : Politische Journal.

withdrew, April, 1790. On this the prince was at last reinstated by Austria Jan. 1791.—The disturbances in Geneva, caused by the disputes of the *Négatifs* (aristocrats) and *Représantans* 1788, quieted by the new constitution, Febr. 13th, 1789, were a consequence of the previous ones of 1782, quelled by the armed mediation of three powers.

Excellent preparatory studies to the history of greater revolutions !*

22. But what were all these petty commotions in comparison with the eruptions of the desolating volcano, that had arisen about this time in the leading state of western Europe?—Though we do not treat here of the internal, but the external history of the *French revolution*,—its influence on the political system of Europe,—still this cannot be depicted, without an understanding of its internal character. It was the peculiarity of the age, that the external relations of the states proceeded from the internal.

23. The prevalent spirit of the age disclosed itself in the convocation of the states general. Though occasioned by financial necessity, what was it but a restriction of the regal supremacy? What but an innovation on the existing constitution? And the very persons, that held this to be a salutary measure, could not but conceive, from what immediately happened, the best founded apprehensions for the issue.

* Recherches sur l'histoire de la cidevant principauté de Liege (par Mr. Repelaer van Driel) à Liege. 1817. 2 Voll.

Tableau historique et politique des revolutions de Génève dans le 18. siècle; par Mr· * (d'Ivernois?) à Génève. 1782.

Meiners Briefe ueber die Schweiz 1790. B. 4. contain the best accounts of the last disturbances.

24. There were three principal points, that necessarily defeated, beforehand, the prospect of a favorable issue. First: that not, as had been done elsewhere, reforms or a restoration of the old usages was attempted, but something wholly new. Thus there was no point of support, no stay. Secondly: that this new state was to be obtained by means of a numerous popular assembly, left to itself, independent of the crown, and surrounded by an untractable populace. And if, thirdly, a hope still remained, the idea, derived from the theories of the philosophers, of the entire or the greatest possible separation of the executive and legislative power, was amply sufficient to frustrate it.

The new was at once established, immediately after the opening of the States May 5th, 1789, when the third state declared itself a national assembly. Thus there actually remained of the monarchy, only the name; and the abolition of feudal rights in the tumult of the night of the 4th of August, (a spectacle without its parallel in the history of the world) founded the popular sovereignty on the ruins of the old constitution,—and, even when this fell, still established a new futurity for France.

25. The reaction of this grand catastrophe on the rest of Europe could at first be moral only, not political. Who could have presumed to prescribe aught to France, respecting its internal affairs? But that moral influence on foreign countries was threatening from the fact, that it must infallibly inflame the hatred of the classes of society there, as in France. Who could say, what might be the consequences of the general enthusiasm, quicken-

ed by the voice of authors, and which few individuals dared to resist.*

26. A political structure, like the ancient French, could hardly be thrown down at once, without injuring others. The first loss befel the German empire, by the abolition of feudal rights. Several princes who had possessions in Alsace lost theirs, and the emperor and empire took their part.
1780. Prudence at least, if not justice, ordered a compromise. But in vain! and there was no greater contrast than the new French, compared with the old German, mode of doing business.

27. The numerous emigrations from France, the reception and projects of the emigrants in several neighboring German countries, soon became

* At the head of the few who did resist in England and Germany, stands :

Edmund Burke Reflexions on the revolution in France and on the proceedings in certain societies in London. 1790. 8vo. (Besides some smaller kindred writings in Works Vol. III. IV.). Written with all the force, with which the conviction of the actual danger of his countrymen could inspire the British Demosthenes.—In Germany :

Politische Betrachtungen ueber die Französischen Revolution 1790 : (before Burke ;) and

Ueber einige bisherige Folgen der Französischen Revolution für Deutschland von E. Brandes ; 2te Ausgabe 1793. —Cool reasoning at the time of the general giddiness.

For forming a judgment both of the subject and the principal works we recommend :

Untersuchungen uber die Französische Revolution, nebst kritischen Nachrichten von den merkwürdigsten Schriften, von A. W. Rehberg. 1793.

Among the deluge of French works, those of Neckar and his talented daughter : Considérations sur la revolution Francaise par Mad. de Stael-Holstein. III Voll. Paris. 1818, are the first in celebrity, but not equally in internal value.

more dangerous for the quiet of Europe, than those contests. Where did not emigrants bring with them their hopes and passions; and especially the emigrants, from the higher and even the highest classes? The restoration of the ancient order of things, though by means of a war, was their wish; and their efforts were to make their cause the cause of Europe. Yet an eventual concert for the common defence of some German princes at Pilnitz, was the only expedient adopted. Who could blame them?

A meeting and conference took place at Pilnitz between Leopold II., Frederic William II. and the elector of Saxony, Aug. 27th, 1791. But unhappily, the Count of Artois came, uninvited; a declaration, and that a very indefinite one, was all that he obtained.

28. As the new constitution of Louis XVI. was completed and accepted, the danger of a war seemed remote; a circular by the emperor Leopold II. himself told this expressly to the courts. Much worse constitutions had subsisted much longer; but could it be seriously believed—and yet it was believed—that all was ended by this paper act? The transition from partial freedom to that which was called perfect freedom, was inevitable, with so passionate and now so excited a nation; and how could this be effected without the most violent convulsions? The conflict of factions soon became milder than before, after the Jacobins acquired the predominance in the second national convention, and the subversion of the throne was the object. They felt that a foreign war was necessary

Sept. 13th, 1791.

12th Nov.

1792.

for their projects, (what policy could from this time have averted it?) and Austria, where
1792. March 1st. Francis II. succeeded, after the unexpected death of Leopold II., was their nearest aim.
20th April. Louis XVI, had to yield: he declared war on Austria.

After the dissolution of the *Assemblée constituante* 30th Sept. 1791, the *Assemblée législative* convened till Sept. 21, 1792; altogether under the influence of the Jacobins.

29. The conduct of the cabinets can hardly be called faultless. The fearful scenes in France were so new, that they lay wholly without the circle of their former policy. Kaunitz himself, the Nestor of ministers, had never beheld any thing like them; and his conduct showed how little he was able to estimate the power of a great popular faction. In this consisted a principal advantage of the democratic party, that they tore the whole system of cabinet politics out of their sphere.

30. It seemed almost necessary for the flame, when once in a blaze, to spread widely. Every passion was kindled; every political relation was altered; old foes became friends; old connexions were torn asunder. The cause of Louis XVI. seemed to be the cause of kings; a king was about to place himself at its head, when he was snatched away by assassination.

31. The connexion of Austria and Prussia gave the first proof of this change of relations. But the unsuccessful expedition to Champagne, undertaken in common, only accelerated the full eruption of the volcano. The royal throne of high antiquity was formally overthrown; and a democratic re-

public, a republic, which loudly proclaimed the diffusion of its maxims, suddenly stood in the midst of the monarchical political system of Europe. It was a war not merely against nations, but against constitutions.

The Russian and Prussian forces were combined under the duke of Brunswick, July, 1792, reinforced by Hessians and emigrants.—False representations were circulated by the latter respecting the situation of things in France. Nothing more than a second campaign to Holland was expected.—The duke of Brunswick issed a manifesto, July 25th; and the French throne was subverted Aug. 10th. The national convention *(Convention nationale)* assembled, Sept. 21, 1792 till Oct. 1795, and France was immediately declared a republic; when the army, having pressed forward as far as Valmy, was forced to retreat, having been subdued by Dumouriez, and still more by nature.

32. The immediately ensuing conquest of the Austrian Netherlands showed at the same time the altered nature of the war, and prepared for its farther extension. Had not the political system thus far principally depended on these provinces? Did not the bulwark of Holland fall with them? Must not England have been startled? One battle decided their fate, which at other times several campaigns had been unable to decide; and men, hitherto unknown, soon took the lead, as famous generals. The bloodless seizure of Savoy afforded likewise a sample of the new republican international law.

A battle was fought at Gemappe, Nov. 5th, and Belgium was conquered, after Custine had seized on, Oct. 21st, the unguarded Mentz in the heart of Germany.—Of Savoy and Nice possession was taken in Sept. without a declaration of

war, and they were forthwith incorporated with France, October.

33. But the grand tragedy at Paris was more influential than these conquests. The head of the guiltless Louis fell under the axe. It will ever be in vain in politics to attempt to stifle all feeling, so long as princes remain men. Though the most vehement abhorrence constituted no cause of war, it yet troubled every negotiation. And how should princes negotiate with a convention, which loudly summoned their subjects to insurrection?—All Europe, therefore, necessarily tended to a great combination against the republic.*

1793. Jan. 21.

1792. Nov. 19th.

34. Great combinations have rarely been successful and of long continuance. But none had ever been so unfortunate, as those, which the world was now to behold. Much may be explained by the revolutionary measures of the enemy, much by the disinclination of the people, but not all. Within themselves also lay the causes of destruction. Was it a vague suspicion of this, which induced the age to term them, not alliances, but coalitions?

35. One of these causes lay in the disproportion of the financial to the military powers of the states (p. 146). Every power, with or without a treasury, found itself exhausted after a short effort; and they were enabled to persist, not by their own resources (the revolutionary they could not apply);

* Memoires secretes pour servii à l'histoire de la dernière année du regne de Louis XVI. par Bertrand de Molleville, ministre d' état à cette époque. Londres. 1793. 3 Voll.—Few could know more; no one has said more.

but only by foreign subsidies. Did not this paralyse every effort? Of what use to the giant were his arms, if others had first to lift them for him?

36. Not a state of Europe, England excepted, could offer these subsidies. This country was, therefore, not only the bond of all, it also acquired the direction of the war. But it was somewhat unsuited for this part, from its geographical situation, and still more from its separate interests. Its objects were not always those of the allies; its advantages were not theirs; theirs were not its losses. Constantly averting the danger from itself by the war on land, it was readily consoled for those losses, if war only continued. Yet did its naval victories and conquests beyond the ocean weaken essentially the power of the enemy? And did they give the confederates a compensation for their sacrifices?

What are subsidies in themselves but a pecuniary aid to the allies whose preservation is our advantage? Thus Maria Theresa and Frederic obtained subsidies, and yet defended their own cause. On the other hand, what a revolution of relations must take place, when subsidies become the principal resource?

37. But a more dangerous cause of dissolution consisted in the general egotism, proceeding from the policy of the states to round off their territory. No connexion can exist without mutual sacrifices. How much more so, when the original object, the preservation of the present state of things, was forgotten amidst the hopes of aggrandizement? And when, moreover, the prospect of acquisitions, whether at the expense of a neighbor, of an actual

ally,—(and who had more to give or lend than the victorious France?)—became an inducement to defection? Thus fearfully did morality avenge itself for its banishment from politics!—When misfortune came, not one possessed a friend to whom it could trust!

38. If these internal causes were sufficient to dissolve the connexions, this was promoted no less by the want of men, competent to hold them together. No Eugene, no Marlborough appeared; even talent, hated by mediocrity, could not maintain itself; while in the revolutionary states, the most violent and energetic men forced themselves into the highest offices.

39. As the founder, and as the head of these combinations, history has only to name William Pitt. His name lives in the annals of Great Britain and in the history of Europe. More correct than others in his estimate of the danger, and no less great in character than in talents, he never capitulated with political maxims. But his situation did not permit him to be, like William III., the soul of a great alliance. That is not in the power of a financier, but only of him who is at once a statesman and a general. Whatever could be accomplished by gold and perseverance, he accomplished; but he was often faulty in his choice of means and persons, and he either could not or would not always take that elevated view, which places the general interest of Europe above the particular interest of England.*

* Speeches of the Right Hon. William Pitt, in the House of Commons, Vol. I—III. London. 1808. The anti-revo-

40. Under such auspices began the first coalition. The continued connexion of Austria and Prussia was reinvigorated by the declaration of war of the convention against England, the hereditary stadtholder, and soon against Spain; Sardinia had already been attacked; Portugal, Naples, Tuscany and the Pope were involved. How could the German empire, already suffering hostilities, have resisted the united influence of Austria and Prussia? The accession of Sweden was prevented only by the murder of Gustavus III.; no one threatened more loudly, or performed less, than Catharine. With the exception of some states of second rank, and, for the present, of the Port, no neutrals were now to be found in Europe.

War was declared against England, after it had refused to recognize the republic, and against the stadtholder, as its ally, Feb. 1, 1793; against Spain, March 7th. The German empire declared war, (Hanover opposing it) March 22. England, as now the central point, formed alliances with Russia, March 25th; with Sardinia, April 25th; with Spain, May 25th; with Naples, July 12th; with Prussia, July 14th; with Austria, August 30th; with Portugal, Sept. 29th; with Tuscany, Oct. 28th; besides subsidiary treaties with several German princes.*

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lutionary maxims of the great man may be fully learned from the two last volumes.

* Ueber den Ursprung und Character des Krieges gegen die Französische Revolution, von Friedr. Genz. Berlin. 1801. The most acute analysis, considered on the side of *right*.

Historische Uebersicht der Politik Englands und Frankreichs von der Conferenz zu Pilnitz bis zur Kriegserklärung gegen England, von Herbert Marsh. Leipz. 1799.—A diplomatic justification of England.

41. This war was to decide, therefore, not, as usually, the conquest of a province—nothing less than the preservation or overthrow of the existing states. It was not merely a conflict of arms, but of clashing political elements. As far as the armies of the republic reached, (who could fix their bounds?) an express decree of the convention announced the introduction of the sovereignty of the people. The danger, however, seemed to be diminished in the first campaign, since several victories of the allies confined the French armies once more to their own territory.

1792. Dec. 17th.

The Austrians under Coburg gained a victory at Aldenhoven, March 1st, 1793; at Neerwinden, March 18th; the Netherlands were reconquered; Dumouriez went over, April 4th. A victory was obtained at Farmars, May 23d, and the French border fortresses were taken, especially Valenciennes, July 28th. Mentz was invested and reduced by the Prussians and Hessians, July 22d. Alsace was invaded, and a battle was fought at Kaiserslautern, Nov. 28th. But a retreat followed in Dec. —. The Spanish penetrated into Roussillon in June.*

42. Rarely has success been more fatal for the victors than here? While ideas of conquest usurped the place of the original object, they roused a resistance of despair; which, calling forth

* La vie privée et politique du Dumouriez. á Hambourg. T. I—III. Goes to the end of 1792. As a continuation for 1793:

Memoires du général Dumoureiz écrites par lui mêne. 1794. T. I. II. Compare:

Correspondance du général Miranda avec le général Dumouriez. á Paris. 1794.

a reign of terror with all its cruelties and all its vigor, sanctioned at the same time a maxim, more momentous and fearful, than a series of victories: *that every citizen is a soldier.* With one blow it annihilated in the leading state of Europe, the system of standing armies; was it credible, that under such circumstances the others could exist? 1793. May 31st. Aug. 16th.

The Committee of Public Safety *(Comité du salut public)* was established 6th April, 1793, till 27th July, 1794, consisting of eleven members, Robespierre, Barrere, St. Just, Carnot, etc., with dictatorial power over persons and property. After the fall of the Girondists (the more moderate party) May 31st, the Revolutionary Tribunal was instituted throughout France, and made daily sacrifices. The armies remained the only safe place of refuge.

43. War, and the military art, therefore, necessarily acquired an entirely new aspect. The old tactics found an application indeed in single cases; but they were no longer practised in general; and the armies of the republic became skilled the more speedily, the more the new system of warfare was simplified. Soldiers of low degree were soon famous as generals; and the next campaign, opening an access to Holland by the reconquest of the Netherlands, was, on this side, decisive for the future. Holland was conquered, under favor of the patriotic party. The stadtholder fled to England, and Holland was changed into a single and indivisible Batavian republic. 1794.

The English were routed in 1793 at Hondschoote, 8th Sept., a consequence of their partial attack on Dunkirk.—Pichegru achieved a victory at Tournay, May 22nd, 1794, and Jourdan at Fleurus, June 26th. The allies subsequent-

ly pressed back as far as the frontiers of Holland; and then retreated to Germany; Pichegru crossed on the ice, Dec. 27th, and all Holland was conquered in Jan.—The contest on the Upper Rhine was bloody; battles were fought at Lautern, 15th July and 20th Sept., but here too the Austrians and Prussians retreated beyond the Rhine in Oct.—On the Spanish frontier, the French penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, in Nov.

44. The conquest of Holland, then perhaps the richest country of Europe, attached it thenceforth to France; secured the possession of Belgium; excluded England's army from the continent; and changed altogether the situation of Prussia and the north of Germany. Formerly it would alone have sufficed to subvert the system of Europe; now it was only a single act in the great drama.

A treaty of amity was concluded between the French and Batavian republics, 16th May, 1795. Conditions: a. Payment of 100 million guilders. b. Relinquishment of Dutch Flanders in consideration of a future compensation. c. Use in common of the harbor Vlissingen.

45. The most important consequence, however, was the change of the relations of England. Its actual participation in the war on land ceased; it had nothing more to lose on the continent. It inherited of Holland its trade, and the war, now denounced on it, opened a prospect to the conquest of its colonies. Carefully as it encouraged the war, it was less interested in the course of it on land.

46. But the seeds of dissension had already been springing among the allies of the continent. The most upright personal connexion of the monarchs in the cabinet, as in the army, were unable to ex-

tirpate the distrust of Austria and Prussia, nourished for almost half a century by Frederic himself; and the consequences had been but frequently and two severely felt. When do not one-sided views in politics at last punish themselves?

47. Added to this there was, in the case of Prussia, an exhaustion, so rapid and complete, that it can hardly be explained even by the extravagant management of Frederic William II. Not a fourth of the army was used. And before quite two years were passed, debts had taken the place of the full treasury. Sustenance for the army was demanded from the front circles of the German empire; and new subsidies were taken from England, as it seemed not for the sake of the war but of the money. 1794. 31st Jan.

A subsidiary treaty was signed at the Hague between Prussia and England, 19th April, 1794.

48. On the other hand, the double maxim was adopted by the convention, to conclude only a separate peace, and not to terminate the war till the Rhine was made the boundary. What materials of serious consideration for the successor of Frederic the Great! But the German empire was not Prussia; the losses of the one and the other were not the same; Prussia had even hopes of gaining at the expense of its ecclesiastical fellow states.—Peace was signed at Basle; and the line of demarcation fixed for the neutrality of the north of Germany.

Conditions of the peace at Basle 5th April, 1795. *a.* France remained in possession, till the arrangements to be made at the peace with the empire, of the Prussian provinces on the

left bank of the Rhine. *b.* France promised to admit the mediation of Prussia for the other states of the German empire, with respect to acceding to the peace. *c.* No hostile marches should be made through the Prussian provinces.—Hesse Cassel concluded a formal peace for itself 28th Aug., the line of demarcation having been previously drawn 17th May, after the accession of Hanover, Saxony, etc.

The negotiators at Basle were: the citizen Barthelemy, and the minister Baron von Hardenberg.

49. In this manner, without having attained the principal object of the war, the suppression of revolutionary principles, Prussia, together with the north of Germany, withdrew from the coalition. 1796. June. Half the empire had made peace! Meanwhile a union was formed for mutual defence; and it seemed to be the period to revive the last idea of Frederic the Great, and to make Prussia the centre of a grand confederacy. But this required a separation from the German empire; and though the chief step was already taken, the name of it was held in terror. And whence would have been derived that confidence, which is the bond of every confederacy, when the new partition of Poland (see below), had just then been accomplished; Nuremberg was occupied to its gates; and the secret compact with the convention, by which Prussia was to be indemnified at the expense of its own fellow states, was soon no secret?

Prussia made a secret compact with France Aug. 5th, 1796. Conditions: Preliminary consent was given to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine; Prussia was to be indemnified by secularizations in Munster and elsewhere,

according to convenience and agreement; for Orange in Wurzburg and Bamberg.

50. But another ally, Spain likewise, soon seceded from the coalition. Its accession had been occasioned by family relations; it soon had to perceive, that it could only lose by the war, and had nothing to gain; and the conclusion of the peace was too much promoted by the actual interest of France, to be liable to great difficulties.

Peace was concluded between France and Spain at Basle, July 22nd, 1795. Conditions: 1. Restitution to Spain of all the conquests made. 2. On the other hand, Spain relinquished to France its portion of the island St. Domingo. Previous to the peace with Spain and Prussia, the convention had concluded peace with the Grand duke of Tuscany, 9th Feb. to show that princes could conclude peace with it.

The negotiators at Basle were: the citizen Barthelemy and Don Yriarte.

51. But the half ruined coalition was not to be altogether disunited. The continuation of the war on the continent, whatever might be its course, was too important for England to enable it to pursue its plans. The war was prosecuted, for the most part, at its cost, in every country and on every sea. Who did not solicit money? Who did not obtain money? Vast loans (scarcely will posterity be able to comprehend them) were necessary; in a few years the sum of the national debt, and with it the burdens of the nation, had doubled. How was this possible, unless the income of the nation should likewise be doubled.*

* An inquiry concerning the rise and progress, the redemption and the present state of the national debt of Great

By the loans made by Pitt during the war of the revolution, the funded debt had increased at the peace at Amiens from 257 to 567 million pounds sterling, of which the annual interest amounted to 20 millions sterling. But the public credit, supported by the sinking fund, did not waver.

52. But this rapid increase could not spring from its own soil; it could only proceed from foreign trade. To promote this by excluding others from it, as far as possible, was therefore the object of exertion. Thus Pitt changed the whole foundation of the British power; for which, indeed, the possession of India had long been preparing. Instead of resting as before on the cultivation of its own soil and a few colonies, its present support was foreign commerce, embracing every quarter of the globe. The annihilation of hostile trade, the suppression of neutral, (in so far as it was not needed,) were therefore the maxims; and England was placed thereby in entirely new relations with the continent. Thus the spirit of the mercantile system was here also triumphant; and the war of the revolution was a commercial war, almost as much as it was a war against constitutions.

The commercial oppressions practised on neutrals proceeded: 1. from the plan of Pitt, (the first of his mistakes) to reduce France by famine. Hence the nature of contraband was extended, and the importation of all means of sustenance forbidden, June, 1793; 2. from the extension of the blockade system; since not only actual blockades, but a mere declaration of blockade, not only of a harbor but of a whole coast, was to prove a real state of blockade; 3. from

Britain, by Rob. Hamilton. Edinburg. 1814. This work gives the most exact and trustworthy information respecting the whole history of the British debt.

the enlargement of the visiting of vessels, even when under neutral convoy; 4. from the rules respecting the trade of neutrals with the colonies of the enemy. The rule of 1756 (p. 40) was first renewed 1793, and an entire prohibition laid. At the remonstrances of the Americans, Jan. 1794, it was limited to the direct trade of neutrals from the colonies to Europe; and in 1798, it was remitted to the neutrals in Europe, to their own ports.*

53. The sole dominion of the sea, and the consequent conquest of the colonies of the enemy, were the conditions, under which alone the British system could be maintained during such a war. The reduction of the corps of the french marine by the revolution facilitated not a little its victories over the hostile squadrons. At the end of this period the French and Dutch navies were already half destroyed, and the most important colonies were already in British hands.

Toulon was taken and occupied 28th Aug.—21st Dec. 1793, and the fleet there was carried off or destroyed. Naval victories were gained over the French: at Quessant under Howe, 1st June, 1794; at Savona under Hotham,

* Ueber das Bestreben der Völker neuerer Zeit, sich einander in Seehandel recht wehe zu thun, von Joh. G. Büsch. (Umarbeitung der Abhandlung von der Zerrüttung des Seehandels). Hamburg. 1800. On very liberal maxims; only with too little order.

Essai concernant les armateurs, les prises, et surtout les reprises par Mr. de Martens; Goettingue. 1795. Likewise a critical history of privateering.

Handbuch ueber das praktische Seerecht der Engländer und Franzosen von Fr. Joh. Jacobsen. Hamburg. 1803. 2 Thle. The most instructive exposition of the complicate subject.

War in disguise, or the frauds of the neutral flags. London. 1806. Unconcealed British maritime orthodoxy, found almost too strict, even in England itself.

14th March, 1795 ; at L'Orient under Bridport, 23rd June ; at the Hieres islands, 13th July. Over the Dutch, 16th Aug. 1796, in Saldanha Bay under Elphinstone ; at Camperdown under Duncan, 11th Oct., 1797. Over the Spanish under Jervis at Cape St. Vincent, 14th Febr. 1797.—Conquests in the West Indies : several places on St. Domingo were occupied 1793—1796, which yet had to be evacuated ; Tabago, 15th April, 1793 ; Martinique, Guadaloupe and St. Lucia, March and April 1794. In the East Indies : Pondicherry, 23rd April, 1793.—From the Dutch : Ceylon ; Malacca ; the places on Malabar, August. 1795. The Cape, Sept. 16th. Demerara and Essequibo, April, 1796 ; the Moluccas, 1796.—From Spain, only the island Trinidad was taken, Feb. 18th, 1797.

54. After the secession of Prussia and Spain, England redoubled its exertions, to hold together the remainder of the coalition, and if possible to reinforce it by the adjunction of Russia ; the more so, since it also had at heart the renewal of the treaty of commerce, that had now expired. It succeeded indeed in both ; and after the triple alliance signed with Austria and Russia, a new treaty of commerce with Russia was effected. But an active co-operation (the sending a squadron to England excepted, the very thing that was least needed,) Catharine did not find advisable.

As early as 18th Febr. 1795, a defensive alliance was made between England and Russia, with a mutual guarantee of all possessions ; and 20th May, between England and Austria. Both were made the basis of a triple alliance, concluded 28th Sept. the conditions of which were not exactly known.—The treaty of commerce was concluded with Russia, Febr. 21st, 1797, with still greater privileges than in 1766.

55. Thus the burden of the war on the continent

always fell on Austria in connexion with Sardinia and the states of the south of Germany. The war seemed to languish. Not till autumn was it renewed on the Upper Rhine, with success on the side of Austria, and thus a truce was effected before the end of the year.

The French armies under Pichegru were driven back, (perhaps by agreement), across the Rhine; and Mentz was invested by Clairfait, Oct.—A truce was made with Austria, Dec. 30th.

56. The course of the internal affairs of France, after the downfall of Robespierre and his faction, had meanwhile produced more moderate sentiments, and then a new constitution; by which a more stable order of affairs was to be established. The executive power was committed to a directory of five members, while the legislative was to be administered by an assembly, divided into two chambers, the Council of Elders, and the Council of Five Hundred, a kind of Upper and Lower House. This entire separation of necessity soon engendered strife between the two. But of how many other evils were not the elements contained in this constitution, so much extolled as the result of high wisdom, and soon urged upon the daughter states. Nothing essential was gained in the relations with foreign countries by these innovations, while the revolutionary system continued.

The new constitution was introduced, the directory installed, and the legislative body opened, after the dissolution of the National Convention, 28th Oct. 1795.

57. Henceforward, the peace of the continent seemed to depend on peace with Austria. To

force this country to sue for it, by penetrating into the heart of its states, was consequently the object of the directory, which was to be effected by three armies, pressing forward from the Upper Rhine, from the Lower Rhine and from Italy. Such a complex plan, difficult in itself to execute, must be far more so in Germany, so long as the fastnesses of the Rhine were in the hands of the Germans. Austria also succeeded in finding a general in its own imperial house, in the person of Archduke Charles, who soon enjoyed the full confidence of the army. To him, Austria was then indebted for its preservation.

General Jourdan crossed the Lower Rhine and penetrated into the Palatinate; and General Moreau from the Upper Rhine into Bavaria, and a truce was made with Baden, Wirtemberg, etc. June and July, 1796. But the Archduke gained a victory over Jourdan at Amberg, 24th Aug. and Wurzburg, 3rd Sept.—Moreau made his celebrated retreat across the Rhine at Huningen, under constant battles; Oct.

58. But the fate of Austria was not to be decided in Germany. Italy, hitherto a secondary theatre, now became, through altered relations, the principal theatre, far more however through the high spirit of the young general, to whom the command there was entrusted. One campaign gave him Italy, the second peace. But the age regarded him as something more than the mere victor and peace maker, and erred only where he himself desired it to err.

In the first campaign of Napoleon Bonaparte, after accepting the chief command at Nice, March 30th, 1796, he gained a victory at Monte Notte, 12th April; at Millesimo, 15th April; and at Mendovi over the Piedmontese, 22nd

April.—He forced Sardinia to solicit an armistice 28th Apr.; and a separate peace was concluded, 15th May. Terms: 1. It should surrender Savoy and Nice, and 2. allow the French to occupy the strongest fortresses.—Bonaparte pursued the Austrians, forced a passage over the bridge of Lodi, 10th May, and conquered the whole of Lombardy, with the exception of Mantua.*

59. These victories decided the fate of the rest of Italy. The dukes of Parma and Modena, the Pope and the king of Naples had to purchase their armistices and peace. But if the dominion of France in Italy had been acquired by arms, it was to be confirmed by policy. The means of doing this was the formation of a new republic, fashioned according to the model of France, out of the Austrian and papal provinces, under the name of the Cisalpine Republic.

A truce was granted to Parma, 9th May; to Modena, 17th May; to the Pope, 23rd June, in consideration of payment of money and the surrender of works of art; and then by the peace at Tolentino on the 19th Febr. 1797, Bologna and Ferrara were relinquished, and all pretensions to Avignon renounced; to Naples 5th June, changed into a peace 10th Oct. without loss. Genoa put itself under French protection 19th Oct.; and Corsica, having previously (June 1794) been occupied by the English, was evacuated by them, but on the other hand, Elba was occupied, 9th July.

60. The revolutionary system was thus made to embrace Italy; and the possession of the principal fortress, Mantua, was now the point on which the execution of the ulterior plans against Austria depended. The century had not yet beheld a con-

* Campagnes du général Bonaparte en Italie pendant les années IV. et V. par un officier général. T. I. II. Paris. 1797.

flict, like that for Mantua. Four times Austria attempted to send relief; four times its armies were routed!—The fortress fell; and the way to Austria stood open.

Mantua was besieged from July 1796 to Febr. 1797. The first attempt to succor it was made by the undaunted Wurmser; defeated at Brescia and the Lago di Garda, 3d and 5th of August. He advanced anew, but was again defeated at Roveredo and Bassano, 4th and 9th of September; but Wurmser, cut off from retreat, fought his way to Mantua. The third attempt was made by Alvinzi. After a battle, which lasted three days, he was routed at Arcola, 15th to 19th November. The last attempt was made under the same general, and a battle was fought at Rivoli, 14th of January, 1797. Mantua capitulated, 2nd Febr.

1797. Mrch. 61. Bonaparte left Italy, and, crossing the Alps, penetrated into the interior of Austria as far as the Muhr, after several battles; while Moreau and Hoche were again to advance across the Rhine. It seemed as if a violent contest must decide the fate of the imperial city. But when the sword was about to decide, policy found an expedient; it was agreed to conclude peace at the expense of a third.

62. Venice was, for the present, destined to be the victim. Lost in stupor for a century, this republic had resorted, in the conflict of the more powerful, to neutrality, the usual defence of the weak. She had long outlived herself; but her fall first disclosed her utter weakness. She was not only without energy, but without counsel. She fell the victim of convenience and the desire of contiguity of possessions; but apart from this, how could a constitution subsist, which stood in the

most direct contradiction to the prevailing maxims of the age?

Since the year 1718 (Vol. I. p. 265) the history of the political system of Europe has offered no opportunity of mentioning Venice. A peace of seventy nine years had gradually matured, in the ruling classes, all the evils of an indolent apathy so that not even an armed neutrality could have been carried through.*

63. But not a definitive peace, only the *preliminaries* (by no means without cause, as was seen in the result), were concluded at Leoben on the Muhr. Every thing that was conceded in the preliminaries was not repeated in the definitive peace.

Preliminaries were signed at Leoben, 18th April, 1797. The principal stipulations were: 1. That Austria should resign all its rights to the Belgic provinces to France, and recognize the boundaries of France, fixed by the constitutional laws. 2. A congress should be convened for the purpose of concluding peace with the German empire, assuming its integrity as the basis. 3. That Austria should renounce its possessions beyond the Oglio, and receive in exchange the portion of the Venetian territory between the Oglio, the Po, and the Adriatic Sea; besides the Venetian Dalmatia and Istria. 4. Immediately after the ratification of the definitive peace Austria should likewise receive the fortresses Palma Nova, Mantua, Peschiera, and some castles. 5. The Republic Venice should have Romagna, Bologna and Ferrara as an indemnification. 6. Austria should acknowledge the Cisal-

* (Tentori) Raccolta cronologico ragionata di documenti inediti che formano la storia diplomatica della rivoluzione e caduta della republica di Venezia corredata ci critiche Osservazioni. T. I. II. 1800. Worthy materials for the future historian. Compare P. Daru Histoire de la Republique de Venise. T. V. 1819.

pine (at first Cispadane) Republic, to be formed of the ceded provinces.*

64. Venice was overpowered, and its former constitution annulled. The provinces agreed upon were immediately occupied by Austria, the remainder, with the capital, by France. Long negotiations were necessary to decide its final fate.

The French declared war against Venice, under the ostensible pretext of an insurrection, which had broken out in Verona, May 3rd. The aristocracy was abolished, and a popular sovereignty established, May 12th. The city was occupied by French troops, 16th of May.—From thence the Grecian isles belonging to Venice were occupied, Corfu, Cephalonia, St. Mauro, Zante and Cerigo, by a French-Venetian flotilla, June 28th. In the preliminaries they had not even been mentioned.

65. What state could be more fluctuating than that, which intervened between the preliminaries and the definitive peace! What ample materials still remained for negotiation! But how grand a prospect was opened to the general, who was the soul of the war, and no less so of the pacification? Like Pompey of old, the arbiter of Asia after the Mithridatic war, Bonaparte had to regulate the affairs of Italy. In the erection of the Cisalpine Republic was seen the founder of states; and he had a powerful influence on the changes of the constitutions of the other Italian states. But his views were not confined to Italy. Switzerland stood in anxious expectation; a Polish legion was formed; and how far was it to Egypt?

The Cisalpine Republic was proclaimed, consisting of Mi-

* The complete treaty, with the secret articles, was first made public in Posselt Annalen 1804. St. XII.

lan, Modena, Ferrara, Bologna and Romagna, to which Brescia and Mantua were soon added, 28th of June.—The Genoese republic was changed into a Ligurian, with a democratic constitution, under the guidance of Faipoult, 22—31 of May. Great democratic commotions took place in Piedmont, the States of the Church, etc.

66. But the relations in the west of Europe also had altered; for Spain had returned to its ancient connexion with France, and the duke of Alcudia, (Principe de la paz), who was devoted to the interest of France, from this time held the helm of state with almost unlimited power. The immediate consequence of it was, the participation in the war against England; but for the future also, the fate of Spain was so bound to that of France by the treaty of alliance, that it depended, at least, on the latter alone, how far Spain should partake in its wars.

A treaty of alliance was concluded between France and Spain, 19th of August, 1798. 1. An alliance offensive and defensive in all wars. 2. In the present, however, only against England. 3. Arrangements as to the aid to be afforded on sea and land.—Spain declared war against England, Oct. 5th.—Trinidad was lost Febr. 18th, 1797; but the attacks of the English on Porto Rico, April, and Teneriffe, July, were repelled.

67. Notwithstanding this diffusion of the war, the horizon appeared to brighten after the preliminaries of Leoben. Austria continued to negotiate; and England, now without allies on the continent, deemed itself also bound to negotiate. But while the hopes of pacification were augmenting, they had to be partially annihilated again by a new revolution in the French authorities. Quick-

er than could have been thought, it was ascertained that no government could be less adapted to the national character, than the many-headed directorial government.

Negotiations were commenced at Lille, July—17th Sept. by Lord Malmesbury (the same person had previously attempted them in vain at Paris, Oct.—Dec. 1796). But after the revolution of the 4th Sept. (18th Fructidor), in which the evils of the directorial constitution manifested themselves sooner than was expected, and by which the minority of the directory and the legislative body was displaced, and a part of them transported, the pacific negotiations with England were broken off.—A short time before, peace had been concluded with Portugal, Aug. 20th; but it was now renounced by France, 26th of Oct.*

68. Entirely different was it with the course of the negotiations of peace with Austria. They were and continued to be in the hands of the peace maker, not of the directory; peace was made because he wished it, and as he wished it. For half a year it was negotiated at Milan; and when it was finally concluded at Campo Formio, near Udine, and the secret articles were afterwards made public, the length of the negotiations was satisfactorily explained!

Peace between France and Austria, concluded 17th of Oct. 1797. Conditions: 1. Austria renounced all its claims to the Netherlands in favor of France. 2. Austria obtained the territory of Venice, from the Lago di Garda; the city Venice; Istria; Dalmatia with the islands, and Bocca di Cattaro. 3. France acquired the Grecian Venetian islands and the possessions in Albania. 4. Austria acknowledged the Cisalpine Republic. 5. A congress should con-

* Recueil de toutes les piéces officielles, relatives à la négociation de Lille; Oct. 1797.

vene at Rastadt for making a peace with the empire. 6. Austria should indemnify the duke of Modena by Brisgow. —Secret conditions: 1. Austria acquiesced in the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, from Basle to the confluence of the Rhine and Nethe at Andernach, with the city and fortress of Mayence. 2. The navigation of the Rhine was to be common to both parties. 3. France will intercede that Austria may obtain Salzburg, and the part of Bavaria between this, Tyrol, and the Inn and Salza. 4. Austria agreed to relinquish the Frickthal in the peace of the empire. 5. A mutual compensation for all, that France should yet obtain in the German empire. 6. Mutual guarantee that Prussia should make no acquisitions, on the restoration of its possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. The injured princes and states on the left bank of the Rhine should receive indemnifications in Germany. 7. Within twenty days after the ratification, all the fortresses on the Rhine, as also Ulm and Ingolstadt, should be evacuated by the Austrian troops.

The negotiators of the peace were: from France, General Bonaparte; from Austria, the Marquis de Gallo, Count L. Cobenzl, Count von Meerveldt, Baron von Degelman.

69. Conformably to this pacification, France remained possessed of Belgium, and the dominion of Italy; the republic of Venice disappeared altogether from the number of states. The German empire, abandoned in secret by Austria, as it had been before by Prussia—(and what disclosures do these secret contracts, compared with each other (p. 170), offer to posterity?)—anxiously looked forward to its fate. The pillars of the old political system of Europe lay prostrate; but politicians spoke of perpetual peace, since now France and Austria had acquired contiguity in their respective possessions and natural boundaries.

II. *History of Colonial Affairs from* 1786 *to* 1804.*

1. It was almost impossible to determine, what influence the great convulsions of Europe would have on the colonies, since it depended not merely on the extension of arms, but still more on the extension of principles. How different, moreover, must be the operation of the latter, according to the various relations of the classes of society in the colonial countries! How entirely different in North America, in the East and West Indies! Add to this the fluctuations in the course of commerce. And yet the trade of the world, and with it the fate of more than one leading state of Europe, was connected with the colonies.

2. Of the colonies, independent America stands at the head, both for itself, and its influence on Europe. Seldom can a state so increase, because it is seldom so favored by circumstances. If the culture of the earth made such great progress, that the number of the provinces advanced in this period from thirteen to sixteen, the progress of its commerce was far more astonishing, which, in a short time no longer limited to the exportation of domestic products, but spreading over every sea, gave America, since the beginning of the European maritime war, such a vast carrying trade, especially between the West Indies and Europe, that its commercial navigation was hardly surpassed by the British.

* To facilitate the general view, colonial history is at once continued to the end of the second division of the period.

Besides the natural advantages, that America possessed for navigation above any country in Europe, such as her situation, the character of her coasts, and the superfluity of wood, proper for building vessels, as well as the nature of her products, the principal causes of the prosperity of her foreign trade consisted: 1. In her regulations respecting duties. It was adopted as a fundamental law, that the exportation of her own products should be entirely free; and those imported, if re-exported, were entitled to a drawback. 2. In the advantageous treaties of commerce with foreign powers. With France, Feb. 6th, 1778. The two parties mutually treated each other on the footing of the most favored nations. (It was renounced by America on account of the injuries of the Convention, 7th July, 1798. By the new treaty, 30th Sept. 1800, a preliminary settlement of free navigation, with the reserve of farther negotiations;) the treaties of commerce with the United Netherlands, 8th Oct. 1782, with Sweden, 3rd April, 1783, with Prussia, 10th Sept. 1785, with Spain, 27th Oct. 1795, contained similar concessions and liberal maxims, both with respect to the contraband (limited to the actual necessities of war) and the rights of neutral flags; in that with Prussia, all privateering even was renounced in case of a war. But the most important was the treaty with England, 19th Nov. 1794; not ratified till 14th June, 1795; the first ten articles (the adjustment of boundaries, evacuations, indemnifications, etc). permanent; the rest, eleven to twenty eight (the real treaty of commerce) for twelve years. Among these a. Trade to the West Indies in American vessels under seventy tons was made free; the importation of American and exportation of West Indian products, only, however, to America. (The article was suspended and never came to effect.) b. Navigation was made free to the British East Indies, importation and exportation; the last only to the ports of America. c. But on the other hand, the British maxims were recognized,

respecting the rights of neutral flags, respecting the contraband trade, and the right of blockade.*

3. While America, by this spirit of concession, opened to herself, in the war of the French revolution, every sea, it was impossible for her to avoid contests with the belligerent powers, to which she was the more exposed, being almost wholly destitute of a navy. The treaty with England exasperated the directory; and the decrees of the convention, bearing so heavily on the navigation of neutrals, did not permit the disputes to subside. But contests arose with England itself, which began to see in America a formidable rival; these disputes, inflamed yet more by the parties formed in the interior, finally impelled America, in order to escape a war, to have recourse to the unexampled resolution of a voluntary suspension of her own commerce.

1793. 18th Jan.

The disputes between the United States and England had their origin: 1. In the prohibited serving of British seamen in American vessels: and the violent seizure of them. This point was passed over in the treaty on account of its great difficulties. 2. On account of the colonial trade. The restriction of the prohibition to the direct trade from the colonies to Europe, Jan. 1794. (p. 173) gave the Americans the expedient, by means of drawbacks, to export to Europe the colonial commodities, brought to their harbors, and for which duties had been paid. Disputes arose after the renewal of the war in 1803, respecting the question, what is a *bona fide* importation? American vessels were captured,

* A defence of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, entered into between the United States of America and Great Britain, by Camillus. (Alex. Hamilton) 1795. Only a defence of the permanent articles.

from May 1805; and soon after, 3rd of August, the trade with the hostile colonies was limited to the British free ports in the West Indies, in order to secure the commerce to England.*

4. The farther influence of America on commerce depended for the most part on her determination to become a maritime power. But the situation of this republic was materially changed by the purchase of Louisiana from France about the end of this period; by which purchase, not only her territory, soon extending to the Pacific, was almost doubled, but she came into the full possession of the Mississippi river, with all its subordinate streams, and especially the mighty Missouri. What a prospect for the future!

Louisiana, with the city and territory of New Orleans, in the same extent as formerly possessed by Spain, was purchased for sixty million francs, 30th April, 1803. Quick progress was made in the culture of the country, which had never thriven as a European colony; but disputes had already arisen with Spain: partly respecting the boundaries of Louisiana and West Florida; partly respecting the boundary on the side of New Mexico; whether it consisted of the near river Sabine or the remote Rio Bravo?†

5. The West India colonies, founded on slavery, underwent, in this period, the greatest changes,

* Respecting the contest between the United States and England: Polit. Journal. 1807. B. I. p. 27. ff.

† Voyage dans les deux Louisianes en 1801—1803 par Perrin du Lac. Paris. 1805. A description of the interior of this rich country, especially the country on the Missouri.

Travels of Capt. Lewis and Clarke from St. Louis by the way of Missouri and Columbia to the Pacific ocean, compiled by Gass. Philadelphia. 1809. This voyage of discovery, undertaken by order of Congress, first disclosed the full value of the country.

and some of them the most fearful catastrophes. They had reached their maturity, and would probably have begun to decline by degrees, even without any violent commotions, since the culture of their products by free cultivators had become general on the continent of America and no less in the East Indies. But not the wars alone, the great revolution of ideas in Europe exerted a still stronger influence on their destiny. The voice of humanity was raised against the cruelties of the slave trade, and was eventually triumphant. But the inconsiderate application of general maxims created in some of them greater atrocities, than those which they were designed to prevent.

We must carefully discriminate between the abolition of the *slave trade*, and the abolition of *slavery*. The opponents of the slave trade were not, for that reason, unconditional opponents of slavery ; the actual propagation of the blacks in the West Indies was to suffice for their culture. The subject was discussed in England and America. As early as 1754, the traffic in blacks had been abolished among the Quakers, and emancipations soon became general, to the advantage, it has been assured, of the owners. But the grand impulse was given by the independence of America, and the prohibition, imposed on the introduction of negroes, (with the exception of the Carolinas and Georgia.) In England, influence was exercised by the works of the clergyman Ramsay, and the prize-essay of Clarkson at Cambridge, 1785. The Society for the Abolition of the Slave trade was founded at Manchester, 1787, by Granville Sharp, (founder of the Sierra Leone colony, p. 94), and soon spread through all England. The matter was first brought before parliament by means of petitions, 1st Febr. 1788 ; the only result was, the act for the better regulation of the

slave trade, 10th July. The honor of being the first to abolish it in Europe belongs to Denmark. A royal order was issued, 16th of May, 1792, that the traffic in blacks should cease in the Danish possessions with the end of 1802. But England did not rest; since the prize essay of the young Clarkson, he himself excited the public still more by his own activity, and since the 12th of May, 1788, the cause of the blacks found in the exalted Wilberforce, so persevering an advocate in parliament, that after a conflict, annually renewed for eighteen years, supported for a long time by Fox and even by Pitt, and at last by the pressure of circumstances, it was finally carried in the Lower House. The act for the abolition of the slave trade, was passed, March 24th, 1807.*

6. This matter took an entirely different course in France and the French colonies. Instead of following the dictates of experience, the national

* An essay on the treatment and conversion of the African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies by the Rev. James Ramsay. Lond. 1784. The author was long a clergyman on St. Christopher.

Essay on the Slavery and the Commerce of the human species, by Thom. Clarkson. Lond. 1786. The English translation of the Latin prize essay in answer to the question: num liceat invitos in servitutem dare?

Clarendon's accurate and copious account of the debates of the House of Commons on Mr. Wilberforce's Motion for an abolition of the Slave trade, April 2. Lond. 1792. gives most of the arguments for and against it.

The history of the abolition of the Slave trade by Thom. Clarkson. 2 Voll. 8vo. Lond. 1808. The leading work for the history. Agreeing in most respects, but from different sources is:

D. Hüne Darstellung, etc. (Vol. I. p. 78) the whole second port. The most comprehensive work on the whole subject.

An enumeration of many other works may be found in: Versuch einer Geschichte des Negersklavenhandels von Joh. Jac. Sell. Halle. 1791.

assembly acted on general principles, and, by putting the declaration of the rights of man in application on the islands, gave, by the decree of the 16th of May, the signal to scenes of horror, 1791. of which it soon, but too late, repented. It was not, however, the blacks, but the mulattoes, who, demanding equal rights with the whites, began the insurrection and led away the blacks. Though these rebellions were quelled on the small islands, St. Domingo, on the other hand, had to be sacrificed; and with it, the mother country lost the richest source of her foreign trade. (p. 107).

The *Société des amis des Noirs* was formed in Paris, 1788, not only for the abolition of the slave trade, but also of slavery. Its influence reached the colonies by means of the mulattoes, then in Paris.—Immediately after the opening of the national assembly, commotions and contests arose among the whites themselves; especially on St. Domingo. —The decree of the National Assembly of 15th May, 1791, established the equality of rights of the whites and mulattoes *(gens de couleur)*. The whites evinced a repugnance to this measure and an attachment to the cause of royalty. The mulattos seized arms, and stirred up the blacks to insurrection. The horrors commenced Aug. 1771. The plantations were destroyed, and Port au Prince burned Nov. ——. The commissaries Santhonax and Polverel, two staunch Jacobins, were sent out with dictatorial power and 6000 men, by the second National Assemby, Sept. 1792. They united with the mulattoes; a reign of terror ensued; disputes arose with the commandant Galbaud (the whites were never agreed among themselves); they invoked against him the aid of the blacks, and the plundering, massacre and burning of Cape François followed, 21st of June, 1793. The negroes were declared free.—War having broken out with England, the English began their undertakings

against Domingo, Sept. 1793, at the invitation of a party among the whites; several places were conquered 1793—1797 (see p. 174). But the climate devoured more than the sword. The island was evacuated, 1798. The whites emigrated, and the negroes exercised the sovereignty under Toussaint Louverture; and after his removal 1803, under Dessalines, Christopher, etc.*

7. The fruitless efforts to reconquer the island after the peace of Amiens strengthened the dominion of the blacks, who, after the utter destruction of the city, erected a distinct state, Hayti. But the leaders soon waged war against each other, and France maintained itself, at least, in the portion ceded by Spain.† 1802. 1803. 29th Oct.

8. Although the peace of Amiens, which left Trinidad only to the English, who restored all other conquests, made no great changes in the state of possessions in the West Indies, they nevertheless were not what they had been before the war. The first of these colonies was made desolate; the tranquillity of the others was preserved with difficulty; loud complaints resounded even to Eu-

* Bryan Edwards Historical survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo 1787 (Vol. I. p. 159). Goes to 1793.

Histoire des désastres de St. Domingue. Paris. 1795. Narrated with exactness by an emigrant planter. What are the horrors of civil, in comparison with those of servile, wars!

Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de St. Domingue, par le Lieut. Gén. Baron Pamphile de Lacroix. II Voll. 1820. The author was on the spot. The leading work on the French side.

† M. Rainsford account of the Black empire of Hayti. Lond. 1805.

rope. Even Jamaica could not recover. A concurrence of circumstances could alone make these hot houses prosper; this had changed; and their happy times were gone, probably forever.

9. The situation of the great Spanish colonies on the continent of America was entirely different. Though slavery existed among them, the slaves never had the preponderance. No disturbances of importance were heard of; and the interruption of the communication with the mother country seemed to be the only evil, that the war inflicted on them. Well informed travellers in a great measure withdrew the veil which formerly concealed them; and gave authentic accounts of their tranquil internal prosperity, a result of their greater commercial liberty (see p. 111), though they had but just emerged from infancy. At their head stood Mexico, destined to be the first commercial country by its population, its treasures, its productions and its situation. Buenos Ayres had risen by its commerce; less so, it appeared, New Granada and Peru. As the political relations of these countries were developed, their commercial relations had likewise to change; and to what results might not these changes lead?*

* Among the works, which shed so much clearer light over Spanish America, the first are the works of Al. von Humboldt; of these we here must cite:

Essai politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne. Paris. 1808. Since it has been completed, it is the leading work on Mexico.

Voyage à la partie orientale de la Tierra firma par de Pons. Paris. 1806. 3 Voll. The leading work for Caraccas, Venezuela, etc.

10. Brazil was placed in different relations from Spanish America. Pombal's monopoly of the company of Maranhao terminated, indeed, after his fall; yet the commercial restraints were by no means lessened. As, however, the mother country remained in the interest of England, the free communication was not interrupted; it had more to gain than to lose from the naval wars of the Europeans. The times approached, when those political relations of the mother country were to occasion the independence of the colony, and South America was to contain an empire equal in extent and perhaps superior in fertility to the republic of North America.*

11. What influence the revolution of Brazil, and the abolition of the slave trade in England and Denmark will have on the colonies on the coast of Africa, time must show. But in general, Africa was drawn within the horizon of the Europeans,

Skinner on the present state of Peru. London. 1806. 4to. It contains very instructive extracts from the *Mercurio Peruano*.

D. Felix Azara voyage dans l'Amérique méridionale, depuis 1781—1801. Paris. 1807. T. I—IV. The leading work on Buenos Ayres and Paraguay. The two last volumes comprise their natural history.

Beiträge zur genauern Kenntniss der Spanischen Besitz ungen in Amerika von Chr. Aug. Fischer. Dresden. 1802. From Spanish sources. Especially important for the modern commercial state of Buenos Ayres.

* Skizze von Brasilien, von J. Lobo da Silveira. Stockholm. 1809. Written in German by a Portuguese; and full of interesting information which confirms, at the same time, its internal prosperity.

Der Handel von Portugal im Jahre. 1804, in: Europäische Annalen 1806. St. 4. S. 42. gives the most trustworthy account of the exports of Brazil, at that time.

much more in this period than in the former. To explore its interior was the grand problem of the time. By Bruce, by the British African association, and by the Egyptian expedition, the obscurity, that covered this quarter of the world, was in part dissipated; what was wanting, only afforded a charm to new enterprises. What a new world dawns here also on the European?*

12. The influence of the European revolutions on the East Indies was at first of a purely military nature. On the continent of India, the British had to fear no Europeans as rivals; the war with Holland gave them the islands also; they became, therefore, the sole ruling nation. But in India itself, the wars still did not abate, and the fall of the kingdom of Mysore constituted an epoch.

1799.

13. So long as Tippo Saib reigned, he was the most formidable enemy of the British; and their military forces were therefore more concentrated in the south. To prevent combinations of the other Indian powers, especially of the princes of the Marhattas with him, and, by dividing the spoils, to attach them, wherever possible, to themselves, against him, was, therefore, the aim of British policy. The power of the new Jugurtha was thus broken in the next war; by which he lost half of

* Travels to discover the sources of the Nile in the years 1768—1773, by James Bruce. London. 1790. 5 Voll. 4to. Second Edition. 7 Voll. 8vo. 1805.

Proceedings of the Association for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa. London. 1790. 4to. The society, founded June 1788, doubled the value of their transactions by Rennel's excellent maps of N. Africa.

his territories, though his resentment against the British was doubled.

The new war of Tippoo lasted 1790—1792. It was caused by his attack on the Rajah of Travancore, the ally of the English, in order to conquer the coast of South Malabar. This gave rise to the participation of the English, in connexion with the Marhattas and the Nizam. Bangalore was conquered, 1791 ; but fruitless attacks were made on the capital under Cornwallis and Abercrombie. The expedition was renewed in 1792, and peace, including the British allies, was accomplished under the walls of Seringapatam, March 17th. Conditions : 1. Tippoo relinquished half of his territories, according to the choice of the allies. 2. He agreed to pay three crores of rupees, and gave two of his sons as hostages till the payment should be made.—For themselves and their allies, the English selected the provinces, that bordered on their old possessions.*

14. Under these circumstances, was it to be wondered at, that Tippoo resumed his sword, on occasion of the Egyptian expedition ? But the precipitate promulgation of his embassy to the Isle de France had roused the British ; they resolved to anticipate him ; and with the conquest of Seringapatam, the empire fell, overwhelming Tippoo in its ruins.

Some adventurers transmitted the influence of the French revolution to Tippoo ; and a Jacobin club was instituted at the court of the citizen Sultan, 1797. He despatched an embassy to the Isle de France, and to Zemaun, Shah of East Persia, 1798. The apprehensions of the British impelled them to great activity ; and their armies pressed forward under General Harris, Feb. 1799. Seringapatam was invested and taken by assault, May 4th. The Sultan was

* Respecting the causes of the war, exact information may be found in Polit. Journal. 1792. p. 1045.

slain, and his empire divided, while a branch of the old dynasty of the rajahs was elevated to the throne, in the remainder, as British vassal.*

15. Since the fall of Mysore, the British policy in the East Indies has evidently changed, as the policy of the all powerful conqueror is wont to do. Its indirect dominion was transformed into direct; the allies of the company were deposed; their lands, altogether or for the most part, confiscated; and in those, which they retained, they had to support British garrisons or pay tributes instead.

Tanjore was taken 1799, the rajah consenting to receive a pension; half Oude and Allahabad, after the expulsion of the refractory Nabob Ali, under the pretence of protecting an incompetent pretender to the throne 1799, who was soon pensioned. The whole Carnatic was taken, after the death of the Nabob of Arcot 1805, in the most revolting manner.†

16. The princes of the Mahrattas were thus the only remaining powerful foes in India; formidable, partly on account of their personal qualities, like Holcar, partly on account of the French officers, they took in their service. Happily for the British, no harmony prevailed among them. But how can peace exist with nations, which are generally in a state of war, when it is not put out of their power to wage it?

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* View of the origin and conduct of the war with Tippoo Sultan, by Alex. Beatson. Lond. 1800.

Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saheb, oder historisch geographische Uebersicht des Mysorischen Reichs, und dessen Entstehung und Zertheilung; von M. C. Sprengel. Weimar. 1801. The author had the advantage of the best British sources.

† The instructions of the Nabob of Carnatic to his agents in London; in: von Archenholz Minerva. 1802. p. 335.

War was waged with the combined rajahs of Berar (p. 101) and the Scindia, who caused his troops to be organized after the European manner by Perron, Sept.—Dec. 1803. The British were victorious, conquered Agri and Delhi itself, the residence of the Great Mogul. Peace was agreed upon, 30th Dec. 1803. Conditions: 1. The resignation of the Duab (between the Jumna and Ganges;), of Beroach in Guzerat, and of the district of Kuttak with the harbor of Balasore between Bengal and the Circars. 2. The Rajahs promised neither to take nor keep foreign Europeans in their service. 3. The Great Mogul was to remain in the most perfect dependence on the British (and soon became a mere pensionary).—The war with Holcar, (at the same time the enemy of the Scindia), prosecuted by the British since Apr. 1804, at first with ill fortune, consisted only of a border war.*

17. These wars and conquests, to which were added, in the peace of Amiens, the possessions of the Dutch on Ceylon, extended the immediate territory of the company over all the eastern coast, the greater part of the western coast, and on the Ganges and Jumna as far as Delhi. They moreover totally changed the military situation of the British in the East Indies. Instead of southern India, the northern, the countries on the Upper Ganges, became the principal seat of their power. They were again neighbors of the Seiks and other warlike nations, with which the maintenance of their dominion kept them in a state of constant variance.

18. With the great enlargement of territory, es-

* Contributions to the latest history of India in: Europäisch. Annalen. 1805. B. 3. 4. from intercepted despatches of the Governor General Wellesley, first published in the *Moniteur*.

pecially of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay by Tippoo's fall, the territorial incomes were necessarily augmented. But hardly more than to meet the expenditures; and an intentional darkness was apparently thrown over the whole conditions of the company. Much depended, of course, on the character of the governor general in India; what a difference there was between the spirit of the administration under the simple Cornwallis and the sumptuous Wellesley? With the extension of territory, the power of these viceroys became greater of itself; but circumstances sometimes required it to be expressly increased.

After Hastings, 1774—1785, the British governors general in India were: at first Lord Cornwallis, till 1794; then J. Shore, and he having been recalled in 1796, by reason of some disturbances among the soldiery, Cornwallis again, who resigned his office in 1797, without going to India, the disturbances having been allayed; he was followed by the Marquis Wellesley (L. Mornington;), recalled in 1804; when Lord Cornwallis, appointed a third time, actually went out; but died soon after his arrival, 1805. He was succeeded by Lord Minto, and he in 1813 by the Earl of Moira (Marquis Hastings.)*

19. The British East India commerce was naturally enlarged by the conquests from the Dutch (p. 173), since the whole trade in spices came into the hands of the British. Though the monopoly of the company continued, it was circumscribed by the regulation, that private per-

1793.

* The East India annual Register and Directory. This British-Indian state Calendar, appearing annually in London, affords the best information respecting the organization of the administration.

sons might trade to India, on paying the fixed tax, provided it were in the vessels of the company. An oppressive monopoly of the company was in reality incompatible with the well known regulations of the traffic in its stock, and the sale of its wares by auction.

20. The Dutch East India company, having been for a long time approaching its dissolution, resembled, after the revolution of the mother country, an expiring taper. Its downfal was produced, not by the loss of its possessions, but by its own want of actual internal vitality. The territorial receipts of most of the possessions had long been inadequate to defray the expenses of the administration; and the smuggling, carried on by its own officers, who were paid with illiberal parsimony, robbed it in a great degree of the advantages of commerce. Its possessions, of which Ceylon only was ceded in the peace of Amiens, became the property of the nation; and its debts were attached to the mass of the national debt. In Europe the administration was committed to a board of control; in India, it seems to have remained unaltered. As for the commerce, the monopoly of it to the western part of India was revoked, and limited to the eastern part alone, (the Moluccas and the spice trade.)

1795. Sept. 5th.

24th Dec.

1803. March 1st.

The speedy fall of the company followed its slow decline after the war with England 1780. The debts, which amounted in 1781 to no more than 12 million guilders, had increased in 1792 to 107 millions; in this time the receipts were

more than 70 millions less, and the expenditures 30 millions more than in the twelve preceding years.*

21. The French East Indies were soon limited, since the beginning of the war of the revolution, to the Isle de France and Bourbon. Protected by their situation, faithful to the mother country, these islands maintained themselves not only against foreign attacks, but also, what was much more difficult, against the internal storms of the revolution. They were always a thorn in the eye

* Staat der Generale Nederlandschen Oostindischen Compagnie behelzende Rapporten van de Heeren Haar Ed. Groot Mog. Gecommitteerden en Bylagen, in date 14. Juli 1791. Amsterdam. 1792. II Voll. 8vo. This book contains a threefold report of the commissaries to the States general, respecting the finances of the company, with all the necessary documents.—Afterwards appeared:

Bericht rakende de Vernietiging van het tegenwoordig Bewind der Oost-Indische Compagnie; in: Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaarboeken Oct. 1795. p. 6381. ff. The principal document for the history of the last period of the company, 1770—1792, with references and proofs.—The internal decay, which had already begun at an earlier period, is here confessed.

Bericht van den tegenwoordigen Toestand der Bataafsche Bezittingen in Oost-Indien, van den Handel op dezelve, door Dirck van Hoogendorp. Delft. 1799. The most lively (the most faithful?) sketch of the miserable condition in the East Indies themselves. The author was arrested on Java, but escaped to Holland. He has not been contradicted.

Beknopte Beschryving der Oost-Indischen Etablissementen, verzeld van eenige Bylagen, door Ary Huysers, Oud Hoopmann etc. Utrecht. 1789. Useful for the knowledge of the organization of the company in India, especially by reason of the Appendix No. 3, which includes the regulation of the governor general, James Mossel, 1753, respecting the rank and pay of the officers of the company in the East Indies.

of England, on account both of the privateering they carried on, and of the connexion they sustained with single Indian princes.

22. The settlements of the British in Australia, (p. 105) were already so thriving, that they supported themselves and promised a rich reward to the mother country, particularly from their flocks. Two colonies had been already settled on Norfolk's Island and Van Diemen's Land. The navigation of the British continued to embrace the great Pacific. On Otaheite, missions were attempted; the Sandwich Islands began to adopt European culture, and parts, hitherto unknown, of N. America around Nookta Sound, acquired such an importance from the trade in peltry, that they almost caused a war between Great Britain and Spain. 1790.

FIRST PERIOD.

From 1786 *to* 1797.

SECOND PART.

HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF NORTHERN EUROPE IN THIS PERIOD.

1. The internal relations of the north in this period, grew chiefly out of the alliance of Russia with Austria, and the dissolution of its connexion with Prussia. Hence proceeded the Russian-Austrian war against the Turks, and the war, caused by it, with Sweden, as well as the whole series of the destinies of Poland and the final destruction of that state. The league, occasioned by the Dutch disturbances between Prussia and England, gave the latter power a greater influence over the north than it had hitherto exercised; and in the latter portion of this period, the north was influenced by the new scenes in France, for they changed, generally, the spirit of the cabinets.

2. As much as foreign policy, Russia being thus at variance with England and Prussia, may, perhaps, have contributed to the eruption of the war with the Port. Potemkin was, nevertheless, its principal author, as he was its soul, as commander in chief. But the war acquired the aspect of a defensive war, since the Port was the first to declare it. So much the more cer-

1787. 16th Aug

tain could the participation of Joseph be counted upon; notwithstanding the Turks avoided, with the utmost care, giving the least offence. Thus arose a conflict of four years, by which Russia saw only a small proportion of its wishes accomplished; and Joseph, fearfully deluded in his hopes, prepared his own grave, before witnessing the issue. 1788. 9th Febr.

The theatres of the war were, in part the Crimea and Bessarabia for the Russians alone; partly the countries on the Danube from Bosnia to Moldavia for the Austrians and Russians. In 1787, the Turks made some fruitless attacks on sea at Kinburn, Sept. and Oct. for the purpose of reconquering the Crimea. The Russians, hitherto accustomed, like the Romans, to appear with moderate armies, this time came forward in greater force; the principal army under Potemkin; a second on the frontiers of Moldavia under Romanzoff. The Turks, avoiding decisive battles, defended their fortresses. In the year 1788, naval battles, unfavorable for the Turks, were fought at the mouths of the Dnieper, 28th of June and 12th of July; and soon after Oczakoff was besieged by Potemkin, July—December. It was taken by assault, with terrible carnage, 17th of Dec. The Austrian war was begun by the main army under Joseph himself and Lascy, March. A singular system of defensive war by means of a frontier cordon was adopted; it was penetrated by the Turks in the Bannat, in August. The night at Lugosch, 20th of Sept. cost Joseph his reputation as a general, and his health. He soon abandoned the army in discontent; Laudon with Haddik obtaining the chief command. —The body under the prince of Cobourg joined the Russians in Moldavia, and Choczim was reduced 19th Sept.—In the following campaign 1789, the Austrians were more successful under Laudon, conquered Belgrade, 8th Oct. and invested Orsowa. In Moldavia under Cobourg and Suwarow they

won a battle at Fockschani, 31st July, and at Martinestie on the Rimnik, 22nd Sept. The Russians were constantly laying sieges. Gallacia was conquered, 1st May; Ackermann 13th Oct.; Bender 15th Nov. No less achievements were effected in the campaign of 1790, when Austria had withdrawn, after the death of Joseph. Kilianova was conquered 15th Octr.; and the terrible storming of Ismail by Suwarrow took place 22nd Dec.*

8. But the distresses of the Port had roused the activity of other powers, England and particularly Prussia. Without themselves engaging in the contest, they attempted to effect diversions in Poland and Sweden. Gustavus III. believed the favorable moment had arrived, to free himself of the burdensome preponderance of a neighbor, by a bold blow. Therefore he broke with Russia; and, battling with domestic as well as external antagonists, soon had ample opportunity to show, what the extraordinary man is able to perform, even when left to himself alone. His conflict was not without glory, and ended without loss.

The king invaded Russian Finland 23rd June, 1788: and Russia declared war, 11th July. The war, both on land and sea, was rendered more extensive by the participation of Denmark in favor of Russia, conformably to the ex-

* Geschichte des Oestreichisch-Russischen und Türkischen Krieges in den Jahren von 1787—1792 nebst Aktenstücken und Urkunden. Leipzig. 1792. Compiled from the political Journal.

Considerations sur la guerre actuelle des Turcs par Mr. de Volney. à Londres. 1788.—Respecting the impending partition of the Turkish empire, and the interest of France in it, especially with respect to Egypt.—Very thorough as a *critique*, but fatiguing to read is:

Examen du livre intitulé Considérations etc. par Mr. de Peyssonel. Amsterdam. 1788.

isting alliance (p. 135) Sept. Norway was invaded and Gottenburg menaced; but on the application of Britain, 9th Oct. an armistice was agreed upon, and then a retreat.—An indecisive naval battle occurred at Hochland, 17th July.—But the Swedish army mutinied, because an aggressive war was contrary to the constitution, and of itself concluded a truce with Russia. The States were convened; and by the act of Union and Safety 3rd of April 1789, the royal power was augmented and invested with the right of war and peace, not without the vehement resistance of the nobility. The war was renewed; in Finland, however, none but frequent battles near the ports occurred. On sea, the contest was bloody, of the main fleet as well as of the squadrons. A victory was obtained by a Russian squadron 24th Aug. So also in the following year, 1790. The attack on the fleet at Neval, was repelled, 14th May; but the king gained a victory with his squadrons 15th May. After the naval battle of 3rd June the Swedish fleet retreated and was blockaded in Wiburg Sound, and suffered a great loss in the battle of the 3rd of July. But the king was again victorious with the squadron in Svensca Sound, 9th July. Negotiations were then entered upon; and peace was concluded, without foreign mediation at Werela 14th Aug. Conditions: 1. Restoration of the *Status quo* before the war. 2. Russia acknowledged the existing Swedish constitution.

Plenipotentiaries: from Russia, Baron Igelström: from Sweden, Baron Armfe ldt.

4. Much greater difficulties obstructed the termination of the Turkish war, because strangers mingled in it. England, and particularly Prussia, desired to prescribe the terms; a Prussian alliance was concluded with the Port; a Prussian army was assembled in Silesia. 1790. 31st Jan.

* Mémoire sur la Campagne de 1788 en Suede, par le prince Charles de Hesse. à Copenhague. 1789. For the history of the Danish campaign.

20th Feb. The death of Joseph II. and the situation of the monarchy at the accession of Leopold, strengthened the hopes of pacification. Belgium was in open rebellion, (p. 154), Hungary discontented and turbulent, the whole state exhausted and destitute of internal support. The congress at Reichenbach was, nevertheless, opened under very uncertain prospects.

The congress was holden at Reichenbach June 1790. The project of Hertzberg was to restore Gallicia to Poland in consideration of an indemnification in Servia and Wallachia, according to the boundaries of Passarowitz (Vol. I. p. 265); and for Prussia, Dantzic and Thorn; rejected by Austria. The project was abandoned on Hertzberg's fall, and a strict *status quo* insisted on. The convention at Reichenbach 27th June, was to be the basis of future peace between Austria and the Port; Austria agreed to the *status quo;* and Prussia and the maritime powers promised their aid in the Netherlands.

Plenipotentiaries: from Austria, Prince Reuss and Baron von Spielmann; from Prussia, Count Hertzberg; from England, Jos. Ewart; from the republic, van Reede.*

5. The immediate consequence of this proce-
19th Sept. dure was a truce between Austria and the Port; but the conclusion of the definitive peace at Szistové was delayed, on account of several intermediate events and some modifications, till the middle of the following year.

Peace was concluded between Austria and the Port, Aug. 4th, 1791. Conditions: 1. Restoration of the *status quo* before the war; but Old Orsova remained with Austria, though without fortifications. 2. The fortress of Choczim was to be occupied by Austria, till the peace with Russia.

* Herzberg Recueil etc. T. III. p. 77 sq.

3. The boundaries were more accurately fixed; ratified by the convention of Nov. 28th. 1795.

Plenipotentiaries: the Baron v. Herbert; and the Reis Effendi.

6. The negotiation with Russia was attended with much greater difficulties. Catharine, already reconciled with Sweden, was not pleased with the high tone, in which Prussia and still more England were desirous of prescribing to her similar conditions of the *status quo*. In vain did Pitt, amid the murmurs of the nation, equip a fleet; Catharine declared her resolution to conclude her peace alone, and she did conclude it alone.

Preliminaries were signed between Russia and Austria 11th Aug. 1791; they were changed into a definitive peace at Jassy, 9th Jan. 1792. Conditions: 1. Russia obtained Oczakoff with the strip of land between the Dnieper and the Niester, which last constituted the boundary. 2. In other respects, all conquests being restored, the boundaries were the same as before the war.—Potemkin, the author of the war, did not live to see the pacification. He died, while travelling, under a tree, not far from Jassy, 15th Oct. 1791.

The Plenipotentiaries at Jassy were: the Count Besborodko, and the Grand Vizier, Jussuf Pacha.

7. After four years of contest, and with streams of blood, it was hardly found possible to break down the outworks of a state, which it had been attempted to overthrow; (so much can national feeling and courage do against tactics!) and even these had to be restored with slight exceptions. But even without further conquests, the war was no less replete with consequences.

8. The first and most important one was the establishment of the dominion of Russia on the

Black sea. It continued to hold the Crimea and the contiguous countries, then indeed deserts, but deserts, where Cherson and Odessa were soon to bloom. Catharine planted here, not for herself, but for future generations. What can become of these places is manifest by a glance at the new Egean Sea with its coasts and islands; what will become of them, future history must narrate.

But these advantages were purchased with the embarrassment of the Russian money affairs, an embarrassment not yet remedied. Since the beginning of this Turkish war, the paper money, issued by Catharine in 1768, fell below its nominal value; and the emissions being repeated, it continued to depreciate, till it fell to about a fourth of its value.*

9. A higher advantage for the present was the formation of generals. Russia and Germany found their Suwarrow and Cobourg, rivals without envy, were worth more than the devastated Oczakoff and Choczim. The times were near, when both should appear on another stage. Why had their great career to begin in the evening of their life?†

10. For the two neighboring states, Sweden and Poland, this second Turkish war had opposite results. For Sweden, the guerdon of the war was its restored independence and friendship with Russia. But could the new augmentation of the regal power be regarded as fortunate? The very

* Ueber Russlands Papiergeld und die Mittel, dasselbe bei einem unveränderlichen Werthe zu erhalten, von L. H. Jakob. Halle. 1817. Drawn not merely from theoretical, but at the same time from practical knowledge.

† Anthing Versuch einer Kriegsgeschichte des Grafen Al. Suwarrow. 3 Thle. 1799.

next years proved, that it might be highly dangerous for Sweden: and no one atoned for it more severely than the ill fated Gustavus III!

The peace at Werela was shortly followed by a defensive alliance with Russia, Oct. 19th, 1791, brought about by their similar sentiments towards France. Gustavus III. resolved to join the alliance against France, and place himself at its head. But a great ferment arose among the nobility; and the king was murdered after the diet at Gefle, March 16th, 1792. The consequence was the preservation of neutrality under the regency of duke Charles of Südermanland (till 1796).*

11. A series of extremely different destinies grew out of the wars, for Poland. Its fall had meanwhile been preparing. The variance of Russia and Prussia necessarily reacted on this state; and its situation was soon such, that neutrality was impossible.

Russia had made a proposal, favored by Stanislaus, in the diet of the confederacy, for a league, in order to involve Poland in the Turkish war; on the other hand, Prussia declared to Poland, 12th Oct. 1788, that it would consider this as a step against itself.†

12. The anti-Russian party became clamorous,

* Reisen über den Sund. Tübingin. 1803. Rich in information for this period.

† Vom Entstehen und Untergange der Polnischen Constitution vom 3 Mai, 1791. 2. Thl. Germanien 1793. Goes to the accomplishment of the second partition of Poland, Oct. 1793. Written by Polish patriots. Grief, even when best justified, does well to moderate its expression.—The opposite side of the picture is shown in:

Histoire de la prétendue revolution de Pologne, avec un examen de sa nouvelle constitution; par Mr. Mehée. Paris. 1793. The new constitution certainly could not please a violent Jacobin.

so soon as a defender was seen in Prussia. The abolition of the constitution, guaranteed by Russia (p. 132) and the introduction of a new constitution, adapted to the age, were its principal objects. Constantly encouraged in them by Prussia, it came to an alliance with this power, in which not only the present possessions of Poland were guaranteed, but aid promised, should others attack it on account of its domestic affairs. The Poles were indeed startled, as the acquisition of Dantzic and Thorn already began to be agitated.

1790. 29th Mrch.

The first differences between Prussia and Poland originated in the discussions respecting the treaty of commerce; in which the cession of Dantzic was proposed. The alliance was concluded, the treaty of commerce remaining unfinished.

13. Freeing itself of Russian guardianship, and refusing to permit Russian troops to march through the country, Poland now assumed the attitude of a sovereign state. Ignatius Potocki and his friends meanwhile pursued in profound quiet and with the approbation of Prussia, the project of the new constitution. The king also was gained, as far as he could be. But still the ancient prejudices were so radical, that the accepting this constitution could only be effected by a kind of surprise.

1791. 3rd May.

The chief points of the constitution of the 3rd May were: 1. The change from an elective to a hereditary kingdom. 2. The elector of Saxony was declared the successor; the throne was to be hereditary in his house. 3. The king, with the council of state, was invested with the executive power. 4. The diet should continue in two chambers; with

the abrogation of the *liberum veto*. 5. All the privileges of the nobility were confirmed, though 6. some favors were accorded to the citizens and peasants. These were, indeed, very slight; but could more be granted at once, without irritating the former nation, the nobility?*

14. Rarely has a new constitution ever been accepted with greater enthusiasm. The nation deemed it the dawn of their liberty. But to defend it, was more difficult than to project it; and was almost impossible, because the king, who ought to have defended it, was too weak even to have the wish.

15. Catharine appeared intentionally to observe an ominous silence, so long as her hands were bound by the war with the Turks. And she did not break it without a pretext. This had to be afforded by the union of a small number of discontented persons, Felix Potocky and his assistants, at Targowitz, for maintaining the old constitution. Under her protection, they erected a confederacy, (soon loudly execrated by themselves,) which was called the nation. What was not now to be expected, when the peace at Jassi (p. 207) left Catharine free. 1792. 14th May.

A Russian army advanced into Poland May 1792. A bold but useless resistance was made under Poniatowsky, Kosciusko, and others. The king joined the confederacy of Targowitz, July 23rd; a truce was made, and the new constitution entirely overthrown.

16. Still, however, the hopes of Poland rested on Prussia. But many changes had meanwhile taken place in the west. Frederic William II. had re-

* The best *critique* of the constitution is to be found in Jekel Staatsveränderungen etc. (see Vol. I. p. 232).

turned from Champagne, without laurels and with his treasury almost exhausted; and the war on the Rhine continued. What a prospect, joined to that of a second war with Russia! That Prussia would abandon them, the Poles might therefore anticipate; but that their protector, already in secret connexion with Russia, would aid in their ruin—was more than could have been expected!

The Prussian troops marched into Poland under the pretence of suppressing Jacobinism, and issued a declaration 16th Jan. 1793, which was followed by a second 24th Feb. respecting the taking of Dantzic (the aim of Prussian policy since the first partition; prudently spared by Catharine; by the oppression of which Frederic had detracted from his reputation in 1783). But the declaration in common of 16th April, dispelled all uncertainty.

17. Poland was again divided, between Russia and Prussia, and lost all but a third of its former territory. Hard was the partition; but still harder the treatment, by which the consent of the nation was extorted in the diet at Grodno. Such scenes Europe had never before witnessed!

The cession, of what had been seized, to Russia, was extorted 17th Aug. 1793, to Prussia, 3rd Sept. in consideration of a renunciation of all farther claims, and of a guarantee of what was left behind.

18. That the rest of Poland was to be under the sway of Russia was tacitly understood. A narrower union left it hardly the shadow of independence; and what other but a military dominion could now have existed? Even the capital was occupied by Russian troops, and the commander in chief was likewise the ambassador.

A treaty of union was made with Russia, 16th Oct. Chief

points: 1. Russia reserved the direction of future wars. 2. Its consent was to be no less necessary to all future compacts with foreign states. 3. Its troops should be allowed to march in, on mere notice.—For the present, the heaviest measure was the appointment of the general Igelström as ambassador.

19. Under these circumstances hardly a semblance of hope seemed to remain; yet the nation was not entirely given up by the patriots, who had fled to foreign countries, and were acquainted with the public feeling in Poland. They found in Kosciusko the man, competent as a general to be the head of a revolution. Prepared by him, it broke out in Cracow, and soon in the capital also; and the only measure, able to ensure success, was adopted, the placing the leader as supreme magistrate, at the head of the nation. 1794.

The revolution broke out on occasion of the reduction of the Polish troops, in Cracow under Madalinsky, 24th March. The peasants were armed, and the measures adopted were marked with boldness. It broke out in Warsaw, 17th April. The Russians suffered a bloody defeat. A government was erected; (the king retained his title;) and the national insurrection quickly spread.*

20. Though in contest with two most powerful enemies, the hopes of the Poles were not a little

* Versuch einer Geschichte der letzen Polnischen Insurrection, von Jahr 1794. 2 Th. 1796. In a certain degree, a continuation of the work; Vom Entstehen, etc. (see p. 209), but in a more moderate tone, and by another author.

Memoires sur la revolution de la Pologne trouvées à Berlin. Paris. 1806. Containing, after a sketch of Polish history, the despatches respecting the occurrences in Warsaw, to the empress from General Pistor.

animated by Frederic William's fruitless expedition against Warsaw. But their preservation was connected with one man; his fate decided theirs. In a short time nothing but the capital remained; and Poland ceased to be among the nations.

The siege of Warsaw was raised by Frederic William, an insurrection having arisen in his rear, Sept. 1794. But Kosciusko was defeated and made prisoner by the Russians under Fersen, 10th Oct. Suwarrow pressed forward and took Praga by assault with a terrible massacre, 4th Nov.

21. Poland was dismembered a third time and utterly, with the cooperation of Austria, after a mere convention of the three courts, since the consent of Poland was no longer necessary. The annihilation of this state was followed by the subjection of Courland, its former fief, (Vol. I. p. 311) to Russia.

The two imperial courts first issued declarations with a preliminary definition of the boundaries, 3rd Jan. 1795; and then, after a convention, a threefold mutual compact was concluded 24th Oct. according to the boundaries as they then were.—The voluntary, unconditional act of subjugation of Courland was promulgated, 18th March, 1795.*

22. Catharine thus lived to see the conclusion of the grand tragedy, which, in fact, she alone terminated, as she alone had begun it, thirty years before. She had divided the soil with others, but not the dominion; and what she had granted, would perhaps have only been lent, had she not been surprised by death. No one of her

1796. 17th Nov.

* Ferrand Histoire des trois démembremens de la Pologne, pour faire suite à l'histoire de l'anarchie de la Pologne par Rhuliéres. Paris. 1820. III Voll. An exact detail of the previous negotiations.

predecessors had exercised influence like hers on Europe; but history has shown, that this influence had its bounds, and what they were. Things were entirely changed, when her only son Paul I. ascended the throne, too late for himself, with contrary maxims.

SECOND DIVISION OF THE PERIOD.

From the peace at Campo Formio, to the establishment of the French imperial throne. 1797—1804.*

1. At the beginning of this period, the situation of the leading powers of Europe, though they all stood upright, had essentially changed. France already geographically aggrandized by Belgium, Savoy, Nice and Avignon, and most closely allied with Spain, held Italy and Holland occupied, and could confidently count upon the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, and the consequent dependence of the German empire. What more did it need for swaying the continent? Austria was employed in healing its wounds. In the east was Russia, with unweakened vigor, and not only aggrandized by the last Polish partitions, but brought geographically nearer to the west, and since the accession of the new ruler, with a policy substan-

* Schutz Handbuch der Geschichte Napoleons und seines Zeitalters. Leipzig. 1810. A full chronological narration of the events from 1769 to 1810.

Geschichte Napoleon Bonaparte's von Friedr. Saalfeld. 2. Theile. Leipzig. 1817. A copious narration.

tially changed by his participation in the war of the revolution. This participation once begun, how could it have ceased, even in case of a change of party? From now, therefore, the former separation of the northern and southern states disappears, and, by the closer union of them both, Europe now constitutes but one political system.

2. Between them stood Prussia, rapidly drained by an extravagant administration; now the immediate neighbor of Russia and soon of France, with frontiers open to both, and, in possession of a great commercial navigation without navy, exposed to every attack on sea. Whether to attach itself to Russia or France was there contested. The idea seems to have been buried with Frederic, that there was yet a third, perhaps the only course for Prussia, to stand or fall with the former political system of Europe:—for what place would there be for this intermediate state, in a new order of things?

King Frederic William II. died before the meeting of the congress at Rastadt, 16th Nov. 1797. A reform was soon introduced into the court and ministry under Frederic William III.; there was no material change, however, in the organization of the state, or in foreign relations.*

3. Even after the peace, it was soon felt, that things were still in an uncertain state. The naval war continued, and who could doubt that Pitt

* Historische Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Verfalls des Preussischen Staats seit dem Jahre 1794 von dem Obristen von Massenbach. 1809. 2 Th.—Even the better minds believed aggrandizement the only remedy for the state.

would do every thing to rekindle the war on land? The conclusion of the peace of the empire at Rastadt could also not be without difficulties; and even if neither had been the case, the continued republicanizing plans of the directory gave sustenance to that conflict of political maxims, which admitted of no permanent pacification.

4. The congress met at Rastadt, under the most melancholy auspices for the empire. It was only to be supported by a close union of Austria and Prussia; but old maxims, new projects and the new prospects already opened, (170, 182), formed too strong a wall of partition; and the surrender of Mayence and the capture of Ehrenbreitstein, during the negotiations, showed beforehand the future situation of Germany. The demands of France were doubled: 1. The cession of the whole left bank of the Rhine, which secured its military influence. 2. The adoption of the maxim of indemnifying the injured princes by secularizations, which secured its political influence.

1797. 30th Dec.

1799. 24th Jan.

The congress at Rastadt lasted from 9th Dec. 1797-8, to April 1799. After the principal demands of France had been granted 11th March 1798, on the side of the empire, a speedier termination might have been expected, had it not been shown, that this did not depend on the congress itself, but on the situation of Europe, which became every day more confused.

The deputies were: from France, Bonnier, Jean de Bry, and Roberjot, (the last after Treilhard's departure); from the emperor, Count Metternich, Count L. Cobenzl and von

Lehrbach; from Prussia, Count Goertz, von Jacobi, von Dohm; from the electorate Mayence, von Albini, etc.*

5. During these negotiations, several of the countries, and especially Italy, continued in a revolutionary state. Since the erection of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, the democratic party had become more widely spread, and had caused, in Rome itself, the subversion of the existing government, and a Roman republic. But no where would the tree of liberty take less root than there.

Rome was occupied by French troops, on occasion of a popular insurrection 10th Feb. 1798. The Roman republic was proclaimed 15th Feb. Pius the Sixth, now eight years old, (who died in exile, 29th Aug. 1799) was harshly treated and carried away, together with several cardinals, 20th Feb.†

6. If this treatment of the head of the church at the order of the directory was a proof of its contempt of public opinion, a much more striking one was seen in the violent revolution of Switzerland. For almost three hundred years, this republic in the midst of Europe, had not only succeeded in avoiding all participation in those great disputes, in which the world had been entangled, but the

* Geheime Geschichte der Rastadter Friedensunterhandlungen in Verbindungen mit den Staatshändeln dieser Zeit. Von einem Schweizer. Nebst den wichtigsten Urkunden. Germanien 1799. 6 Th. 8vo. Only the first part of this comprehensive work contains in a condensed sketch the history from the beginning of the wars of the revolution to the breaking out of the war 1799; the remaining five contain the collection of documents.

† A brief account of the subversion of the Papal government 1798, by R. Duppa. London. 1799.

conventional international law had accorded to it, to a certain degree, an inviolability, which bordered on sanctity. How could an age, that spared nothing, have spared this sanctity, in which there was freedom indeed, but no equality? Besides the financial gain, that, it was hoped, would accrue from the spoils, the military importance of the country, from its situation and character, was, in all probability, a no less motive. Notwithstanding the resistance offered, a few weeks were sufficient to overthrow the structure of centuries, and to transform the league of the confederates into one Helvetian Republic.

Switzerland preserved its neutrality, notwithstanding the disputes respecting the emigrants, till the revolution of the 18th Fructidor (p. 182) determined its fate by the expulsion of Barthelemy and Carnot. Switzerland became agitated and the revolution began in Pays de Vaud, Dec. 1797. The evils of the federal constitution were disclosed; there was a want of unity, and the burden at last fell almost exclusively on Berne. Here also there was no want of deliberation and energy; but the majority adopted partial measures, and with Kosciusko's courage, the bold d'Erlach was never possessed of Kosciusko's means. The French advanced on two sides, with bloody fights; Berne was overpowered 2—5th of March, 1798; and the other cantons were conquered, with the exception of the three smaller. These made an obstinate resistance and an honorable capitulation 1—4th of May.—The Helvetian Republic was proclaimed 12th April. Then followed five unhappy years of war and faction, till the French act of mediation 19th Feb. 1803, restored to the Swiss their federal (but altered) constitution, and tranquillity.—At the time of the taking of

Switzerland, the republic of Geneva was destroyed by its incorporation with France, 26th April, 1798.*

7. England stood against the continent; with doubled power; with doubled debts; with doubled resources. The fearful secret began to be avowed, that it could exist as it was, only in war; and experience soon showed, that a peace would be nothing but an armistice. Pitt's long and disinterested administration concentrated the power in the hands of a few families, and in the bosom of the free constitution an oligarchy was formed, which, subsequently pushing to a scandalous excess the altercations respecting the offices of state, was, nevertheless, long unable to produce a single leading mind. But the maxims of the anti-revolutionary policy had been firmly established by Pitt; and the government had soon to recur to them, even when it seemed, for a short space, to have abandoned them.

8. But the continued war with England, about this time matured an enterprise, which, executed by the hero of the day, for whom there was now no suitable theatre in Europe, chained, by its novelty, the interest of the world. The conquest and colonization of Egypt was, at the same time, to afford a compensation for the West Indies, and give another direction to the colonial system of Europe. Prepared under the mask of an expedi-

* Essai historique sur la déstruction de la ligue et de la liberté Helvétique par Mallet du Pan. Londres. 1798. Is there no native of Berne to write it? Authentic information respecting the destruction of the republic of Geneva may be found in Polit. Journ. 1798, May.

tion against England, the execution was yet more wonderful, than the preparation. The conquest of Malta, combined with it, has been followed by almost greater consequences for Europe, than the conquest of Egypt.

Great preparations and embarkations were made at Toulon (as the left wing of the English army on the channel.) The fleet and army under Bonaparte set sail, 18th May, 1798. Malta capitulated and was occupied 10—12th June without resistance. The fleet, pursued, but not overtaken by the British, anchored at Marabou. The troops landed 1st of July. Alexandria was taken on the 2d, after which Bonaparte pressed forward towards Cairo and gained the battle of the Pyramids, July 21st. Cairo was invested on the 22d. Desaix made an expedition against Upper Egypt, and subdued it after the battle at Sediman, 7th Oct. The Syrian expedition was defeated at Acre, Dec.—May, 1799, (too late was it ascertained, that Egypt cannot be maintained without Syria.) The Turks landed, and were defeated at Aboukir, 25th July.*

9. No undertaking ever created such immeasurable anxiety in England. Even the great naval victory at Aboukir, by which Nelson almost annihilated the French fleet, could not allay it. But by this victory it acquired the dominion of the Mediterranean, and the British ministry made it a maxim, not to rest, till Egypt should be torn from France.

1 Aug.

10. The epoch of the victory at Aboukir gave this battle a greater political importance, than naval battles usually possess. The first consequences were, the declaration of war

12th Sept.

* Relation des campagnes du général Bonaparte en Egypte et en Syrie, par Berthier. Paris. 1800.

against France by the Port, on account of the invasion of Egypt, and efforts to reconquer it, aided by England. Thus was dissolved the oldest bond of amity in Europe!

11. A still more important consequence was the formation, promoted by it, of a second coalition, by means of England and Russia. The office, accepted by Paul I. after the conquest of Malta, as grand master of the order, led to further steps, and the world beheld a new example, how antiquated institutions may recover a momentary importance from the passions of rulers. 24th Nov.

Russia formed alliances with Naples, 29th Nov. 1798; with the Port, 23d Dec.; with England, 29th Dec.; and with the remote Portugal, 28th Sept. 1799. England formed alliances with Sicily, 1st Dec.; with the Port, 5th Jan. 1799. So also did Naples with the Port, 21st Jan.

12. The condition of these treaties were, in general, a mutual guarantee of all possessions, (with the inclusion of Egypt, in the case of the Port;) a common prosecution of the war, according to exact stipulations, and none but a common conclusion of peace; the closing of all harbors, especially in the Mediterranean, to French navigation and commerce; British subsidies to Russia and others. The duration of the treaties was fixed for eight years.

13. But it was the accession of the two leading German powers, which could open to this mighty combination the way to attack. The course of affairs in Rastadt, and the increasing differences with Austria, hardly left room for a doubt, that these might be gained. Prussia, on the other

hand, thinking to steer, in the general storm, between Scylla and Charybdis, persisted, with unshaken purpose, in its neutrality. The warrior state suddenly changed its character, and became the most peaceful. The most dangerous of all experiments, when the state itself destroys the halo of its power!

After the fruitless negotiations at Selz 30th May—6th July, 1798, Austria began to contract closer relations with Russia and England, conceding to Russia the mediation with Prussia respecting future indemnifications. The advances of a Russian army through the Austrian territories, Dec. gave the clearest proofs; and caused the French ambassador to make a declaration, 2d Jan. 1799.

14. Thus a new combination was formed against the French republic, in extent at least, greater than the former, but from this very circumstance, checked in its operations. What obstacles were thrown in its way by the geographical distance of London, Petersburg and Vienna, obstructing all concert; what by the neutrality of Prussia, covering at the same time Holland and Belgium; what still greater obstacles were presented by the clashing interests of England and the continent, and by the whimsical character of the Russian monarch? The premature secession of Naples, soon destructive to itself and Sardinia, permitted no ripe combinations to be expected.

The war broke out in Naples Nov. 1798. The directory declared war against Naples and Sardinia 6th Dec. and compelled Charles Emmanuel IV. to renounce all his possessions on the continent 9th Dec. The Neapolitan war proceeded unfortunately under Mack. The king fled to

Palermo 2d June, 1799. Naples was taken after bloody battles by Championnet 23d Jan. and erected into a Parthenopean republic.

15. Those obstacles, however, could not weaken the first onset; and the financial embarrassment and the declining importance of the directorial government, in France itself, impeded all its steps. But the choice of leaders was most decisive. If the directory here failed, the Archduke Charles on the contrary, and the dreaded Suwarrow, at the head of the allies, were the harbingers of victory. The congress of Rastadt was dissolved; and one campaign was enough to give the victorious allies Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. 1799.

The congress of Rastadt rose 8th April, 1799, and the French ambassadors were cruelly murdered on their return, 28th April. The war was already begun on the Upper Rhine. The Archduke won a battle at Ostrach, March 21st, and at Stockach on the 25th, over Jourdan. He penetrated Switzerland as far as Zurich against Massena, till, separated from the Russians under Korsakow (Sept.), he held the command victoriously on the Upper Rhine. Manheim was taken, 18th Sept.—The war began in Italy, and Kray was victorious over Scherer at Verona 26th March; at Magnano 5th April. After his arrival, Suwarrow takes the command of the Russian-Austrian army 16th April. A victory was gained at Cassano 27th April, and Milan and Turin were taken. Almost all the fortresses, even Mantua itself, fell, 28th July. The French under Macdonald retreated from Naples, and were defeated by Suwarrow on the Trebia 17 to 19th of June. Naples was reconquered by the Calabrians under Cardinal Ruffo, with the most revolting cruelties, and the throne was re-established, supported by Russians, Turks and Britons (a singular combina-

tion), as also the papal dominion under Pius VII. Another French army advanced under Joubert; it was likewise routed by Suwarrow at Novi, Aug. 15th. Genoa and Ancona alone remained occupied by French troops.*

16. Were not these days of victory the days for founding peace? Or was it not the time for a neutral power, like Prussia, to assert with effect and dignity the restoration of Europe? But when was it not more difficult to make a wise use of a victory, than to obtain the victory itself? The precious moments were gone, and the year was not to end, till the coalition had fallen asunder, by the secession of Russia.

A misunderstanding had arisen between Austria and Russia in Italy respecting Ancona and Piedmont, Russia having taken Sardinia under its protection. The Russians withdrew under Suwarrow to Switzerland, to join Korsakow. But Korsakow had been defeated two days before by Massena, 25—27th Sept. and Suwarrow retreated over pathless Alps to Upper Suabia, the last and greatest of his achievements! He and his army were recalled Jan. 1800, and met

* Precis des evènements militaires, ou essais historiques sur les campagnes de 1799 à 1814, avec cartes et plans par Mr. le Comte Matthieu Dumas; lieutenant général des armées du Roi. Paris. 1817. The six voll. that have hitherto appeared, of this valuable work, comprehend the campaigns of 1799, 1800 and 1801.

Geschichte der Wirkungen und Folgen des Oestreichischen Feldzuges in der Schweiz von C. L. von Haller. Zwei Theile. 1801.

Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des dernières revolutions de Naples par B. N. témoin oculaire. Paris. 1803.

Die Geschichte des Feldzuges 1799 in Deutschland und in der Schweiz. Th. I. II. Wien. 1819. (by the Archduke Charles). The best account of the campaign of 1796 in Germany has been given by the: Grundzüge der Strategie of the same author.

—a cold reception! England and Russia also were disunited by the unsuccessful combined descent on North Holland under the duke of York, Aug.—Oct.; one benefit, however, England derived from it, in the surrender of the Dutch fleet in the Texel 30th Aug.

17. While the allies were thus trifling away the advantages of their success, a much more important change was proceeding in France. The ship, which was freighted with the immediate destinies of France and Europe, had landed at Frejus. 9th Oct. Few weeks were sufficient to establish a new order of things by the overthrow of the long undermined directorial constitution—the directory abdicated; the deputies of the people were driven asunder with clubs;—and one campaign was enough to reconquer the lost fruits of victory, and with them peace.

General Bonaparte returned from Egypt Oct. 9th, 1799. Preparations were made for an internal revolution, executed after the removal of the chambers to St. Cloud, principally through the instrumentality of the council of the Ancients, 9th Nov. (18th Brumaire). The consular constitution was introduced 15th Dec. Bonaparte was appointed regent, as First Consul. The popular sovereignty was abolished by the abrogation of the municipal governments, and the appointment of prefects. The separation of the legislative and executive authority ceased, the government reserving to itself the sole right of originating bills in the legislative body. In appearance it was the outline of a constitution, more than a finished one.

18. After peace had been vainly proffered to England, (the manner, in which it was proffered, would alone have frustrated it,) preparations were

made for opening the campaign. How different was the situation, when Russia, no longer co-operating, was soon half won? On the continent, therefore, Austria only had to be vanquished, feebly supported by Naples and a part of the German empire, but soon more closely tied to England by a new subsidiary treaty. It even seemed the general wish, to assist the purposes of France. Before the beginning of the campaign,—the Archduke Charles was recalled from the command!

26th June.

A double plan was marked out for the campaign of 1800, in Italy under the First Consul; in Upper Germany under Moreau. In Italy, Genoa was obstinately defended by Massena till the 4th of June. Meanwhile the reserve army crossed Mont St. Bernard. Milan was entered, and the Cisalpine republic restored. Bonaparte gained a victory at Marengo over Melas, 14th June, and a capitulation was made on the 15th, by which Lombardy and all the fortresses to Mantua were to be evacuated. Thus the fruits of a year were lost in one day.—In Germany, Moreau crossed the Rhine into Alsace 25th of April, and advanced, without intermission, under battles always victorious against Kray, to Ulm 2—10th May; he then penetrated into Bavaria and the Grisons, June and July. Repeated armistices were made in Germany (after preliminaries had been concluded 28th July, but not ratified in Vienna) in consideration of the evacuation of Ulm and Ingolstadt, 15th July—9th Nov. and in Italy since the 29th of Sept. A great victory was gained at Hohenlinden 3d Dec. and Austria was entered as far as Linz; and at the same time another victory was gained in Italy on the Mincio under Brune, 26th Dec.; and the Adige was passed 1st June, 1801, till the truce at Treviso, 16th January.

19. While the old century departed, thus stained with blood, the new ushered in at least a hope of peace. Gladly would the humbled Austria have acceded to it; but the dissolution of the connexion with England was the condition. Hardly had Austria consented to this, at the close of the previous century, when negotiations were opened at Luneville, of which a peace, both for the emperor and empire, was the consequence; followed by another peace at Florence with Naples. 31st Dec.

Negotiations were carried on at Luneville 1st Jan.—9th Feb. 1801. The basis of them was, not only the peace at Campo Formio, but also the concessions already made by the emperor at Rastadt; new ones, however, were added. Chief conditions: 1. The cession of Belgium and the Frickthal (afterwards granted to Helvetia, Aug. 1802) to France. 2. Confirmation of the cessions, made in the peace of Campo Formio to Austria in the Venetian territory. 3. As also of Brisgau to Modena. 4. Resignation of the Grand duchy of Tuscany in favor of the house of Parma, in consideration of an indemnity in Germany. 5. The emperor and empire acquiesced in the alienation of the left bank of the Rhine, so that the course of the Rhine constituted the boundary. 6. The hereditary princes, who suffered deprivations, were to be remunerated in the empire. 7. The Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine and Ligurian republics were acknowledged, and included in the peace.—For the preservation of Tuscany (afterwards changed into a kingdom of Etruria, in favor of Parma), besides Parma itself, Louisiana was ceded by Spain to France, 21st March, from which it was afterwards purchased by the United States of America (p. 187). A truce was made with Naples at Foligno 18th Feb.; and peace was concluded at Florence 28th March, 1801. Conditions: 1. The harbors were closed against British and

Turkish vessels. 2. The relinquishment of its possessions in Tuscany, Elba and Piombino. (Stati degli presidi.) 3. Otranto remained occupied by French troops.

The negotiators at Luneville were Joseph Bonaparte and Count L. Cobenzl.

20. If the continent of Europe began to enjoy tranquillity, by these pacifications, (if a tranquillity, enforced by the sword, can be called such), the war was still waged on the ocean; the altered policy of Russia soon produced new scenes in the north; and the indemnities, to be allotted in Germany, opened a wide field for negotiation.

21. Since the conquest of Egypt, the Mediterranean had been the principal theatre of the naval war, covered by Russian, Turkish and English fleets. To establish here its new dominion, was the grand object of British policy; and the final surrender of Malta, reduced by hunger, laid for it a foundation, which can hardly be shaken. From this time, who could hope for a lasting maritime peace?—The conquest of the French Grecian islands by the Russians and Turks gave Europe the new spectacle of a Grecian republic; and that of a Grecian republic—founded by Russia and the Port!

1800. 5th Sept.

Corfu was taken by the Russian-Turkish fleet, 1st of March, 1799. The Republic of the Seven Islands was erected under Turkish protection and Russian guarantee by the convention at Constantinople between Russia and the Port, on the 21st of March, 1800. Its constant occupation during the war by Russian forces till 1807, gave Russia an important influence in the Mediterranean.—Minorca had been added to the conquests of the British in that sea, 15th

Oct. 1798; and in the West Indies the other Dutch colonies were conquered (p. 174,) Surinam 21st Aug. 1799, and Curaçao 13th Sept. 1800.

22. Of no less moment was the procedure of Paul I. in the north. Withdrawing from his connexion with England and Austria, craftily won by the flattering policy of the new ruler, he first drew the northern states nearer to himself; but the increased oppressions, inflicted on neutral flags by the British, soon led him to farther projects. Catharine's scheme of the armed neutrality was renewed; the eruption of a new maritime war in the North was the consequence, which would perhaps have been carried much farther, had not the relations been altered by the death of Paul I.

A defensive alliance was formed between Russia and Sweden 29th of Oct. 1799. Closer relations were contracted with Prussia 1800; the former ones with Denmark continuing. The project of the armed neutrality was renewed, on account of the capture of Danish and Swedish ships under convoy, Aug. 1800. To this end, Russia entered upon a connexion with Sweden and Denmark, 16th Dec. to which Prussia acceded 12th Feb. 1801. The principles of 1780 (p. 91) were repealed, with the addition, that the convoy protects from search.—An embargo was laid on British ships in Russia 8th Nov. The banks of the Weser and Elbe were occupied by Prussians and Danes, and in a short time, Hanover by Prussia, March 1801. A British squadron was despatched to the Baltic; the battle of Copenhagen was fought 2nd April, when the emperor Paul had already ceased to live 24th of March. Alexander I. adopted different measures. A convention was made with England (according to its wishes) 17th June, to which the allies acceded, and the conquests in Europe and the West Indies were evacuated.

23. The great change in Russia, (rarely has a greater been produced by a change of rulers;) and
1801. the mild spirit of the new monarch, who, by
Oct. 8. the restoration of the old relations, concluded
Oct. 4. peace both with France and Spain, had a perceptible influence on the tone of politics. Even England, troubled by want of corn, and almost insulated, desired peace, and it was re-
1801. 9th Feb. garded as a presage of it, that Pitt, fully conscious that he could never make it, left, of his own accord, the post, he had so long occupied. But the fate of Egypt gave the actual decision. In this matter, the British policy did not waver; and the most unlimited exertions were not, in its opinion, too great, for attaining this end.—Were these apprehensions well founded?

The fate of Egypt was determined from the departure of Bonaparte, who devolved the command on Kleber, 22d of Aug. 1799. A British-Turkish army advanced from Syria and conquered El-Arisch 29th Dec. A convention was made with the Grand Vizier 24th Jan. 1800. It was annulled, and the Grand Vizier was surprised and defeated at Heliopolis, 20th March. General Kleber was murdered at Cairo and was followed by Menou 14th June. A British army under Abercrombie was sent out in Dec. and disembarked at Aboukir 8th March, while another, under Bairel, came from the East Indies by way of the Red Sea, in April. A victory was gained at Ramanié 21st of March. Abercrombie died; and his successor, L. Hutchinson, made a convention at Cairo for the evacuation of Egypt, 27th of June. This was done, and Abercrombie surrendered in Sept. Egypt was restored to the Port.*

* Wilson's History of the British Expedition to Egypt. London. 1800.—Respecting the importance of Egypt as a colony:

24. By this issue, the principal obstacle was removed, which stood, for the present at least, in the way of the nearer approaches of England and France. The peace, which Portugal, attacked by Spain at the instigation of France, 6th June. had to conclude with both, on condition of the cession of Olivenza and the closing of its harbors to British vessels, was a new inducement. Thus the preliminaries, so long discussed in London, were soon concluded. The negotiations 1st Oct. for the definitive peace, treated of at Amiens, led to the desired end, in the ensuing spring. After the peace between France and England, that with the Port could meet with no difficulty.

Peace was concluded at Amiens between England on the one side, France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic on the other, 25th March 1802. Conditions: 1. Restoration to France and its allies of all the conquests made by England, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, resigned by Spain, and Ceylon, ceded by the Batavian Republic. 2. The Port was to be preserved in its integrity. It was comprehended in the peace and was to be invited to join it. 3. France recognized the Republic of the Seven Islands. 4. The island of Malta, with Gozzo and Comino, was to revert to the Order, to be evacuated within two months, be occupied by Neapolitan troops, and its independence guaranteed by France, England, Russia, Spain, and Prussia. Neither the French nor English tongue should prevail; a Maltese tongue should be formed, and the returning Knights were to elect a Grand Master from among themselves.

The plenipotentiaries to Amiens were: Joseph Bonaparte

Heeren's treatise: Ueber die Colonisation von Aegypten und ihre Folgen fur das Europäische Staatensystem ueberhaupt in: Vermischte historische Schriften. Th. II.

and lord Cornwallis, preliminaries having already been negotiated in London by lord Hawkesbury and the citizen Otto.

Peace was concluded between France and the Port, (according to the preliminaries previously concluded 18th Oct. 1801.) 1. Egypt was restored, and the possessions of both parties guaranteed. 2. The old compacts were renewed, and the navigation of the Black Sea made free for France. 3. The republic of the seven islands was acknowledged. 4. Mutual treatment like the most favored states.

25. The conditions, on which the peace of Amiens was concluded, must excite the highest astonishment. The war had not been waged for Ceylon and Trinidad; but for the freedom of Europe. This was tacitly relinquished, for England seemed to renounce all participation in the affairs of the continent; even the evacuation of Holland was not stipulated. The war was therefore terminated, with its object unattained; and the question, whether such a state of things, as this peace produced, could continue, could not but soon become very problematical.

26. This peace raised the First Consul to the zenith of his renown. France retired from the conflict, with its interior well ordered and tranquillized, increased in territory, with all its colonies restored, and with but a slight loss on the part of its allies. All this, even the rebuilding of the altars and the establishment of religious liberty, seemed his work; and together with the power of arms, he was surrounded by the still greater power of public opinion. It now stood in his choice to rule Europe without farther contests.

And he would have governed it, had he been able to—govern himself!

Bonaparte was appointed First Consul for life, 4th Aug. 1802, after he had already been nominated president of the Italian republics, 26th June. He took the title of Mediator of Switzerland, 19th Feb. 1803. This transformation of the French constitution had a corresponding influence on the secondary states; the Batavian republic received a directory; the Ligurian a Doge; even the little Lucca (for which no new name had been found) did not escape transformation.—The *Concordat* with the Pope was concluded, 15th July, 1801, ratified by the legislative body 8th April, 1802. Not only the Catholic, but also the Protestant worship thus acquired its forms.

27. But the maintenance of public opinion, indispensable for the first magistrate of the republic, as it was still called, presupposed the maintenance of a great political character. He could not but sink in the former, in the same proportion, as he was untrue to the latter; and the steps, which undeceived the nations on this point, followed in but too rapid succession!

28. The first great political transaction was the affair of the German indemnities, fixed in the peace of Luneville. It was prosecuted in Ratisbon, under the mediation of France and Russia, and the predominant influence and the policy of the former were here most clearly displayed. While all the spiritual princes were deprived of their seats,—that only of the arch chancellor of the empire, with whom it was not deemed possible to dispense, being retained, though transferred from Mayence to Ratisbon,—the temporal estates,

more or less favored by France, shared their inheritance. Every German would rather turn his eyes from a transaction, which, though perhaps inevitable in itself, is revolting from the manner in which it was executed.

A preliminary convention was made at Paris between Russia and France respecting the plan of indemnities, 4th June 1802. It was given up and a proclamation issued at the diet 18th Aug. The sessions of the extraordinary deputation of the empire were opened 24th Aug., and it came to a final resolve of that deputation, 25th Feb. 1803. The most favored, in comparison with their losses, were Prussia, and the states near the Rhine, and the easiest to be kept in dependence, Baden, Wurtemburg and Nassau; less so Bavaria; least of all Austria. Two Italian princes also were directed to Germany, the great land for indemnities; Tuscany had to satisfy itself with Salzburg, Modena with the Breisgau and the Ortenau. Four new electoral hats were conferred on Wurtemburg, Baden, Hesse, and Salzburg; men were no longer chary of a dignity, which soon remained an empty title.

29. Thus there was still a German empire, but not the old German empire. It was an aggregate of states, under foreign influence, with the emperor as nominal sovereign. Antiquated as it was, the truth was soon confirmed, that the central state of Europe could not disappear, without a general convulsion.

30. The scanty period of peace, enjoyed by Europe, gave a striking proof, what a mass of energies was aroused in its inhabitants. All strove, by applying themselves to industry, trade and navigation, to heal the wounds that had been in-

flicted, and, deep as they were, a few years of peace would have been sufficient. But peace did not eradicate distrust, the element of new strife, which soon received but too ample aliment. England, perceiving its error, would not relinquish Malta, (the bulwark of Egypt, which France never lost from its sphere of vision,) and with it the dominion of the Mediterranean, France would not concede these points; and the formal incorporation of the plundered Piedmont without any previous agreement, showed the nations of the continent, that the natural boundaries, on which so much stress was placed, were boundaries no more. 1801. 20th April.

The restoration of Malta was refused, because, after the abolition, that had taken place, of the Spanish and Bavarian tongue, it could not return to the Order in its old form. In Sept. 1802, a mission was instituted, and Col. Sebastiani made an offensive report respecting the situation of Egypt and the Levant, 30th Jan. 1803, while on the other side the animosity was inflamed by the constant war of the pen, waged by the journalists in London.

31. It was, therefore, soon manifest, that the treaty of Amiens, though not intended as a mere armistice, was in reality nothing more; and the palm of peace had not been planted a year, when it was torn up by a new war, more lasting and important, than its authors had forboded.

The king of England sent a message to parliament respecting the threatened security of the British territory, 8th March 1803. The negotiations of lord Whitworth, in Paris, were fruitless.—Great Britain declared war against France, 18th May.

32. This war, however, in which the Batavian republic, and all the other daughter states of France, had to participate, was of an entirely different nature, since the two powers, the one strong on land and the other on sea, found few points of contact, notwithstanding all their desire to inflict mutual injuries. The occupation of the neutral Hanover, without the least indication of it having been previously given in Ratisbon, and without the remonstrances of the diet, was as indecisive as the vain, though ostentatious, display of forces for a descent, on the coasts of the Channel. This display served rather to put the British nation in arms. France and England might be said to be in the condition of war rather than actually at war; and who could foresee the end?

Hanover was occupied under Mortier after the convention at Sulingen, June 3d; and the capitulation at Artlenburg, 5th July.

33. But the immediate and widely important consequence of this war was the re-establishment of an hereditary throne in France, to which the consular constitution was only designed as a state of transition. But instead of the ancient regal throne, an imperial one was erected; instead of the legitimate monarch it was ascended by a successful soldier, who, in defiance of all morality and policy, had just dipped his hands in the blood of
20th Mar. a branch of the royal family. Europe, accustomed for a long time only to legitimate princes, was now to learn, from a grand example, how tyrants rise.

A decree of the senate was framed on the 18th of May 1804, by which, at the proposal of the Tribunate, the First Consul was proclaimed Emperor, and the dignity declared hereditary in his family. The votes were taken (those not voting were regarded as assenting), and it was declared to be accepted by the nation 6th Nov. Napoleon I. was crowned and anointed by Pius VII. as Emperor of the French, on the 2nd of December.

THIRD DIVISION OF THE PERIOD.

From the establishment of the French imperial throne to the restoration of the political system of Europe by its fall; and the establishment of the freedom of America; from 1804—1821.

FIRST SECTION.

HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE IN THIS PERIOD.*

1. The project of a universal monarchy, a project fraught with terror to former periods, had almost fallen into oblivion, when it was revived in the breast of the man, who had already advan-

* Histoire abregée des traités de paix, entre les puissances de l'Europe, depuis la paix de Westphalie; par feu Mr. de Koch. Ouvrage entiérement refondu, augmenté et continué jusqu'au Congrés de Vienne et aux traités de Paris de 1815 par F. Schoell, Conseiller d'Ambassade de S. M. le Roi de Prusse près la cour de France. Paris. 1817. Vol. I—XIV. We mention this very important work and indeed indispensable for modern history, in conformity with its principal contents, here rather than Vol. I. p. 177. The Voll. 6—11 refer to the present period; the three last comprise the history of the system of the north. In connexion with this work is:

Recueil de piéces officielles destineés à detromper les Français sur les événements qui se sont passés depuis quelques années par Fred. Schoell. Paris. 1814. Vol. I—IX. 8vo. The collection begins with the Russian campaign of 1812, but comprehends also the Spanish war and the disputes with the Pope since 1808.

ced almost half the way to this object. If we understand by this expression the dominion either direct or indirect of Europe, this can no longer be subject to doubt. The problem for the history of this period is to show, how far, and by what means, he advanced on this way, till destiny, interposing, aided the abused nations to reconquer their liberty.

2. Never had a potentate in Europe had such resources at command, as the present emperor, Napoleon. His sovereignty in the interior was absolute, since the despotism of freedom had levelled every thing; the legislative body was mute after the weakening and then the abolishing of the Tribunate; the conservative senate, so called, a ready instrument of tyranny; for freedom does not live in dead forms! Abroad, France extended to the Rhine and beyond the Alps, and the Italian Republic, as it was now to be called, was soon changed into the kingdom of Italy, under Bonaparte's sceptre and his immediate dominion; Spain, Batavia, Helvetia, the rest of Italy and the German states on the Rhine, were kept in dependence by alliances or by fear; by the occupation of Hanover, a French army was stationed in the heart of the Prussian monarchy and on the frontiers of Denmark; Austria was threatened, whenever it should be wished. The distant Russia alone with Sweden stood upright, but with a more gloomy aspect since the murder of Enghien; and the ocean was not to be subjected.

1807. Aug.

1805. 17th Mar.

All diplomatic relations with France were broken off on the side of Russia 28th Aug. and of Sweden, 7th Sept. 1804. Both refused to acknowledge the new imperial dignity.

3. The repeated solemn assurance, that the territory of France should be enlarged by no farther incorporations, seemed, indeed, to fix the future boundaries; but who could repose any trust in an assurance, which was violated, almost before given, by the incorporation of the Ligurian Republic? The insulting language, which the new ruler employed in his bulletins against foreign princes, could hardly serve to conciliate their minds. Is it not still more irritating in public than in private life? And though the newly erected throne was called the re-established throne of Charlemagne, by this very expression it was abundantly indicated, that there was no room for it in the old system of Europe.

1804. 27th Dec.

1805. 4th June.

1804. Aug.

4. Under these circumstances, in England the helm of state was a second time committed to William Pitt. Who, that knew his ancient policy and the new relations, could doubt of his attempts to form a new combination against France? By this he only anticipated the wishes of Napoleon, who could no longer permit his army to parade idly on the Channel.—The war was already enlarged by the participation of Spain, which had hitherto been able to purchase its fluctuating neutrality only by subsidies to France; and Portugal began to be threatened as partial to France.

1804. 15th May.

1803. 30th Oct.

The Spanish galleons, returning with their treasures, were taken before Cadiz, 5th Oct. 1804. War was declared against England, after reiterated negotiations, 12th Dec. retaliated by England, 11th Jan. 1805.*

5. The third coalition against France was formed. England was its centre; a general rising of Europe was, according to Pitt's plan, to reduce France to its old bounds, and the independence of the states was to be secured by judicious regulations and divisions. That the restoration of the old royal house was in that case a necessary condition, no one ventured to aver. So far did it then lay without the province of probability.

6. But although in part effected, the project of Pitt could be only half executed; and even on the formation of this coalition a darkness rests, that time only can fully explain. Though it was joined by Sweden, Russia and Austria, Prussia on the contrary, obstinately insisting on a neutrality, of which it soon had cause most bitterly to repent, was not to be gained. And yet, without Prussia's accession, no efficient attack on France was possible. Its mere neutrality was a full protection to the northern half of the French empire.

England contracted an alliance with Russia 11th April; with Sweden, (which was already allied to Russia 14th Jan.) 31st August, renewed 3rd of Oct. 1805. A Russian Swedish army was to land in Pomerania. Had the power and understanding of Gustavus IV. been equal to his hatred and perseverance, Napoleon would have had in him, his most formidable opponent. Austria acceded to the alliance be-

* Fr. Gentz authentische Darstellung des Verhältnisses zwischen England und Spanien 1806.

tween England and Russia, 9th August. British subsidies and an army of 500,000 men were to restore the freedom of Europe, without dictating to France in the least, with respect to its internal affairs. On the other hand, by the treaty with Napoleon, 25th of June, Naples was forced to permit the entrance of French troops; which were afterwards designedly withdrawn.*

7. The war broke out after fruitless negotiations; and the whole plan of the allies was overthrown by the attack on the Austrian army on the Iller, where
1805. a Mack was opposed to Napoleon, before the
Oct. Russians could join it. After its annihilation in the lapse of a few days, the projected aggressive war in Italy fell away of itself; and reinforced on his march by the accession of Baden, Wurtemberg and Bavaria, Napoleon was able to march to the imperial city.

Ulm capitulated 17th of October; after which the other detachments of the army, separated, were almost all taken prisoners.—The Italian army under the Archduke Charles, notwithstanding the successful battle at Caldiero, 30th Oct., retreated to the boundary of Croatia.—The French entered Vienna, 13th Nov.

8. The Russians upon their arrival found only the remains of the army which they were to have joined, and the assistance which they were able
Dec. 2. to afford them on the bloody day at Austerlitz in Moravia, was but slight. When they were compelled to retreat, there was no alternative to the humbled and abandoned Austria, but to

* (Fr. Gentz) Fragmente aus der neusten Geschichte des politischen Gleichgewichts in Europa 1806. Unfortunately, only the fragments of an imperfect work, with a preface written with the pen of Tacitus in a season of despondency.

receive the conditions of peace which were offered. It was concluded at Presburg after short deliberation.

Conditions of the peace at Presburg, 26th Dec. 1. France was to keep all the countries in Italy which were embodied with it, or administered by French laws (Piedmont, Parma and Piacenza). 2. Austria resigned all that she had acquired from Venice (Dalmatia, therefore, formerly belonging to Venice, and bordering on the Turkish empire) to the Italian kingdom, and recognized Napoleon as its king. 3. Bavaria and Wurtemberg received the royal dignity with full sovereignty in all their possessions, old as well as new. 4. Austria ceded to Bavaria the whole of Tyrol with Voralberg, and the bishopricks Brescia and Trent; Burgau, Eichstadt, Passau, Lindau, and several principalities; Augsburg also fell to Bavaria. 5. It gave to Wurtemburg and Baden the nearer Austrian countries, of which Baden obtained the greater part of the Breisgau, Ortenau, and the city Constance; and Wurtemburg the rest. 6. Austria obtained Salzburg and Berchtolsgaden, as a duchy; besides the hereditary dignity (already secularized) of Grandmaster of the Teutonic order; the elector of Salzburg was indemnified on the part of Bavaria by Wurzburg as an electorate. 7. Napoleon guaranteed the integrity of the rest of the Austrian Monarchy.

The negotiators at Presburg were Talleyrand, and Prince Lichtenstein, with Count Giulay.

9. The peace at Presburg was not universal, since Russia still remained in a state of war. But a new and important step towards universal dominion was taken. The power of Austria was broken; with Tyrol and Venice, deprived of its bulwarks, its security now consisted in the fidelity of its inhabitants. The southern states of Germa-

ny were still more closely connected with France; and, by a crafty division, aggrandized in appearance more than in reality; for how willingly would Bavaria have done without Tyrol for Wurzburg! With the custom of exchanges of lands, all security of possession had vanished, and the most sacred ties, which had hitherto bound the nations to their princes, as well as the princes to their nations, were dissolved.

10. The first instance of a royal family being dethroned by a bare proclamation, occurred at Naples, and Bonaparte laid the foundation of the dominion of his family in Europe by the promotion of Joseph his elder brother; and of Eugene Beauharnois, his adopted step-son, to the viceroyalty of Italy, while the family itself was by a special law, slavishly subjected to its head.

27th Dec.

The neutrality of Naples, which had been evacuated, was said to have been violated, by the landing of a corps composed of English and Russians, from Corfu; it is uncertain whether with or against the will of the king. A proclamation was issued from Schönbrun, 27th Dec. 1805, declaring "that the dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign," and on the 25th Feb. 1806, Naples was occupied and Joseph the new king entered and was proclaimed king of both Sicilies; while the court of Naples retired to Palermo. The narrow strait of Messina was sufficient to limit the power of the conqueror. His sisters were provided for in Lucca, Piombino, and Guastalla; which last, but a short time after it had been conferred, 30th March, was again resumed in order to be joined to France with Parma and Piacenza 21st July, 1805; for the blind arbitrary will of the emperor was displayed in small as well as in great affairs.

11. During these triumphs on the continent, the freedom of Europe would have been vindicated on the ocean, had it there been at issue. The expeditions of smaller and larger French squadrons to the East and West Indies, which England could not prevent, were without permanent results; the colonies, that had been restored, fell again, almost without resistance, into the hands of the English; and the battle of Trafalgar, a double victory by the glorious death of Nelson, almost entirely destroyed at one blow the navies of France and Spain, and all the plans, which had been founded on them. 1805. Feb. 21st Oct.

Surinam was taken 29th April 1804, Gorée, March 8th, the Cape 18th Jan. 1806, from which an unsuccessful attack was made on Buenos Ayres 2nd July 1806, and after it had been repelled 12th Aug., was vainly repeated July 1807.

12. The messengers of those defeats, by which the third coalition was dissolved, found its author on his death bed. Impoverished and involved in debt, (intensely devoted to his country and Europe, he had never thought of himself,) and with a broken heart, died the man, who to his last breath was the support of liberty. He left no heir of his greatness; but he left a school which had imbibed his maxims, and was yet one day to be victorious. And although his opponent was his successor, his brief administration was destined only to justify the policy of his predecessor.

William Pitt died 23rd Jan. 1806.—The ministry of Grenville and Fox was compounded of different elements. The negotiations, carried on with France since Febr., soon demonstrated, that the man of the people is not always the

man of the state.—Napoleon refused to negotiate with England and Russia in common, 1st April. And after a separate discussion had been agreed upon, a new contest arose with England respecting the basis of the peace, the *uti possidetis;* and the deliberations with Russia were broken off, the compact of Oubril of the 20th July not having been ratified. With the death of Fox, all hopes of peace disappeared, which, however, would have hardly been a miserable armistice.—Whether Pitt or Fox were the greater is yet made a question in England. What would have become of Europe had a Fox stood in the place of Pitt? But the constant advocate of ideas, apparently or really liberal, will ever have his public; while the truly great minister is too great for popularity.*

13. As if it were not known, what was passing on the continent, Fox on his death bed negotiated for peace. The consequences of the compact of Presburg, were developed rapidly and fearfully for Europe; and the error was soon dissipated, of those, who had erroneously presumed, that neutrality could be preserved towards him, who wished for no neutrality, and could wish for none on the way to his object. Prussia now stood directly in his way; during the war its neutrality had already been made a mockery by the march of French armies through one of its provinces. And the transactions after the peace, by forcing on Prussia the garment of Nessus for several of its

* Speeches of the Right Honorable Charles James Fox in the House of Commons. VI. Voll. London. 1815. Fox has had no want of panegyric biographies, while the greatest statesman of his time was destitute of a worthy historian, till his former instructor, the Bishop of Winchester attempted to supply the chasm in a work of six volumes: The life of W. Pitt. How much history was buried with Pitt!

provinces, in Hanover, plunged it in such embarrassment, that its fall could be foreseen, even before the contest.

The disputes with Prussia had their origin in Bernadotte's arbitrary march from Hanover to the Danube by way of Anspach, Oct. 1805. Prussia began to make preparations, after the war had been actually decided at Ulm and Austerlitz. Haugwitz was peacefully sent to Vienna, and, obtaining an audience not till *after* the battle at Austerlitz, concluded a treaty, 15th Dec. according to which, the quiet of northern Germany was to be peremptorily purchased on condition, that 1. Prussia should cede to France the provinces Anspach, the still remaining Cleves and Neufchatel; and in return 2. should take possession of Hanover. Reduced to the alternative of accepting the treaty or war, the just disposition of the king was yet more deeply mortified by the circumstance, that the *provisory* occupation of Hanover, proclaimed 26th Jan. 1806, had to be changed by a supplementary treaty of 9th March into a definitive one, of which the immediate consequences were: the declaration of war by England, 20th April, and the capture of the Prussian merchant vessels; and even a state of war with Sweden, since Gustavus IV. would not relinquish Lauenburg, which he occupied for Hanover. A compromise was at last effected with him on the 22nd of August.

14. The cessions, exacted from Prussia, were employed to augment the dominion of the family of the emperor. To his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, Cleves and Berg were assigned as a grand duchy; instead of Berg, Bavaria, having been drawn into the family interest by the marriage of the viceroy, received Anspach; and Neufchatel was granted as a principality to the bosom friend and constant companion of the

1806. 14th Jan.

emperor, Marshal Berthier. What prince must not have trembled on his throne at perceiving the ever increasing number of those, for whom provision was to be made?

Murat was appointed hereditary grand duke of Cleves and Berg, 23rd of March, "for guarding the frontiers of the empire"; Berthier the hereditary prince of Neufachatel, 3rd of March. Even the arch chanceller elector did not scorn to appoint, of his own accord, the step-uncle of the emperor, Cardinal Fesch, his successor as coadjutor, 28th May.

15. But this family power acquired a more important augmentation about this time, from the change of the Batavian republic into a kingdom. A mere decree—which had first to be solicited—was sufficient to overthrow the republic and rear from its fragments a new throne for Louis, a younger brother of the emperor. When this was formerly attempted by Louis the Fourteenth, half Europe had taken up arms, while now, not even a single voice was raised against it.

This transformation had been already prepared by the revolution of the 29th of April 1805, by which a chief was placed at the head, in the person of the Grand Pensionary, as he was called,—seemingly, almost in mockery of the unhappy state.—A preliminary contract was made 24th of May 1806, and the royal constitution was promulgated 10th of June, modelled after that of France. By it, Louis Bonaparte was declared hereditary king of Holland, but with continuing subordination to the family statute. Thus was dependence secured, more than was necessary.

16. After such advances, little seemed to be wanting to universal dominion but a name. The federative system was now loudly spoken of,—

called by others the gravitation system,—which was to take the place of the balance of power. Less was said of the great nation, but more of the great empire. A decree of the senate had already given the monarch the surname of Great, and, religion itself being perverted by flattery, the solemnization of St. Napoleon's day rendered it intelligible, how in ancient times in Rome, tyrants could be transferred to the number of the Gods.

1806. 26th Jan.

15th Aug.

A difference arose between France *(la France)* and the French empire *(empire français)*. It is no less interesting to pursue the ideas herewith connected and gradually developed, than in the case of the *Socii Populi Romani*, of old.

17. And yet there were many impediments to be removed. Though the German empire was only a form, yet the form itself of the ancient central state of Europe was troublesome, because it obstructed a new arrangement. History was to give a new example, how states outlive themselves. A simple declaration of the new potentate to the diet, that he no longer recognized the German empire, was sufficient to subvert the structure of a thousand years. In consequence Austria voluntarily laid aside the imperial crown of Germany, adopting, instead, the hereditary imperial crown of Austria. Only in the heart of Germans, did the German emperor survive.

1806. 1st Aug.

6th Aug.

18. But not the empire alone, even the name of German, for this too he hated, was, if possible, to disappear. On the falling ruins of the ancient

edifice, a new one was immediately erected; of which the first authors have refused to betray their names to posterity. At the same time with the declaration mentioned above, another was submitted to the diet by the princes of southern Germany, that, renouncing their old connexion, they had formed a new, of which Napoleon was the protector, under the appellation of the Confederation of the Rhine.

The constitution of the Confederation of the Rhine was framed and signed on the 12th of July, by Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Baden, Berg, the Arch Chancelior, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau-Usingen, and Nassau-Weilburg, Hohenzollern-Hechingen and Siegmaringen, Salm-Salm and Salm-Kirburg, Isenburg, Aremberg, Lichtenstein and the Count of Leyen; strangely compounded; the three preceding the last unasked, the last a relation of the arch chancellor. The ministers who signed it, cannot, for that reason, be regarded, on the whole, as its authors. The signers made a Declaration at the diet 1st of August. Though all the German princes gradually joined it, with the exception of Austria, Brandenburg, the houses of Brunswick and the electorate of Hesse, (Swedish Pomerania and Holstein were united, the former with Sweden, the latter with Denmark, 9th of Sept. 1806), it cannot be regarded as a voluntary accession; it was the only means of safety.

19. This new combination was the more revolting, since it was at the same time the sentence of death to many small princes and free cities, of which the former were incorporated into the larger powers, the latter occupied. Thus the validity of the right of the stronger was enforced, and would not this soon end in the right of the strongest? The affair itself was revolting; yet more so

the treatment of the reduced princes by more than one of their new rulers.

The aggrandizements were made, partly by mutual cessions, according to the system of contiguity, partly by confiscation of the proscribed estates of the Teutonic order, partly by the reduction of the smaller princes. The Arch-chancellor was changed into a Prince Primate, and obtained Frankfort with its territory; while Nuremberg was allotted to Bavaria. The electoral hats were laid aside; but the princes became dukes, the dukes became archdukes, and counts became princes!

20. It was soon evident that this confederacy was no union, but only an attachment to the protector to favor his purposes. The duties towards him, participation in all his wars, and the aid to be furnished, were most strictly defined and exacted; but of the diet, which was to assemble at Frankfurt in two chambers, that of the kings and that of the princes, nothing was ever said, except in the act of confederation. In return, the protector remunerated them with the magic word of sovereignty; a mockery for subjects; but unjustly used by some for destroying the constitutions of their states, and the rightful relations towards their people; concerning whom the protector gave himself no trouble. The humble are always prone to follow the example of tyranny in the exalted.

Sovereignty, with respect to foreign countries, denotes the independence of one state of another, and need not first be conferred, for it belongs to every state as a state. Did the confederates of the Rhine possess it in the relation to their head?—With respect to the interior, it denotes the possession of the supreme power; but by no means

the sole right of legislation without consulting the nation. And even if it meant this, whence had the protector a right to confer it?

21. A new, great step had been taken towards universal dominion, by the erection of the Confederation of the Rhine. Not only was it henceforth impossible to form a league in Germany against France, but each German state was now individually chained to France by fetters of iron. Thus was prepared the fall of Prussia, now in reality isolated. Could Napoleon rule Germany, so long as this power stood upright?

The erection of the confederation of the Rhine without the knowledge of Prussia, which was the party, the most interested in it, was in itself an injury; but the invitation to establish a northern confederacy in Germany seemed almost derision.—The incorporation of Wesel 29th July, the taking of Essen and Werden, the ill-treatment of the prince of Orange—were so many challenges; while French armies in the midst of peace occupied half Germany. But the certainty, that France had offered in the negotiations with England to take from Prussia that very Hanover, she had forced upon it, brought to maturity the determination to make war. —After the negotiations in Paris by Knobelsdorf had been broken off, Prussia declared war on the 8th of Oct. 1806.

22. The situation of Prussia at the beginning of the war was dangerous, both within and without. The whole strength of the state rested, the military and civil classes being wholly separated, on an unpractised army, under a general, who had already outlived himself. It was without allies abroad except Russia, whose armies were remote; and Saxony, half on compulsion; while Hesse imagined it possible to maintain a neutrality, disu-

nited not merely from England, but also from the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine. It was thus reduced to itself in the decisive days, against an almost double force. But no kingdom has ever been in modern times so utterly overthrown by one battle, as Prussia by that at Jena and Auerstadt! In a few weeks, all its provinces as far as the Vistula with their fastnesses were in the hands of the enemy, and even beyond the stream the royal house found an asylum only under Russian protection.

The Prussian army was collected in Thuringia under the command of the duke of Brunswick, Sept. and Oct., and suffered a total defeat in the battle at Jena and Auerstadt, 14th of Oct. 1806.—The army, fugitive and dispersed, were in part taken prisoners; and the duke, severely wounded and driven, moreover, from his own country, died at Altona 10th Nov. The fortresses (with the exception of Colberg and Graudentz,) were most incredibly surrendered, even Magdeburg, 8th Nov., unexpectedly to the emperor. A separate peace and alliance were concluded with Saxony at Posen 11th Dec., which, raised to a kingdom 20th Dec., acceded to the confederation of the Rhine. On the other side, the elector of Hesse was surprised and expelled, 1st of Nov.—in reward of his neutrality,—and all his territories, both of Hanover and Brunswick, with the Hanseatic cities were occupied. "The houses of Hesse Cassel and Brunswick have ceased to reign."

23. With Prussia, the bulwark of Russia had fallen; on its boundaries, the victor conceived another project, the restoration of Poland; by which he might obtain, perhaps, a spy on Russia. The erection of a Polish legion, (see p. 180) had proved, that from the beginning this country lay

in the horizon of the potentate; but the inevitable offence of three leading powers in the full execution of the plan, made him more cautious than ever, so that for this time the restoration remained partial, after the insurrection had been created.

The Poles were summoned to insurrection, under the abused name of Kosciusko 1st Nov.—The insurrection spread in Prussian Poland; and an auxiliary army was formed.

24. Thus the war was transferred, as if by magic, from the banks of the Saal to the banks of the Vistula; and Russia, which was moreover involved in a war with the Port, (see below) had to defend its frontiers. Old Prussia was the theatre of a devastating war; and though Russian valor was there tried, it was nevertheless seen, how difficult it is for this power, to concentrate great masses of troops, out of its boundaries. It was found impossible to relieve the so important Dantzic.

After several bloody combats at Pultusk, etc. the grand battle was fought at Preussisch-Eylau, 8th Feb. 1807. Though indecisive, it led to the fall of the bravely defended Dantzic 24th May. After several skirmishes, another great conflict took place at Friedland 14th June. Konigsberg was taken, and the Russian-Prussian army retreated across the Niemen. Memel, the last city in the kingdom, was the only refuge, that remained to the royal house of Prussia.

25. The battle of Friedland led to an armistice and soon to a peace, the motives of which require farther explanation. After a personal meeting of the two emperors in the midst of the Niemen, it was concluded at Tilsit. The Czar still needed, it seems, personal experience, that no concessions could gain the friendship of the conqueror.

A truce was agreed upon between France and Russia 21st June, while Prussia, left to itself, made its pacification on the 25th. The two monarchs met on the Niemen, 25th June. Peace was concluded between Russia and France at Tilsit 7th July, 1807. 1. The provinces to be returned to Prussia were fixed. 2. Russia recognized the duchy of Warsaw, consisting of the former South Prussia and a part of West Prussia, under the king of Saxony. 3. Dantzic was declared again a free city. 4. A part of New-East-Prussia, the government Bialystock, was ceded to Russia. 5. Russia recognized Joseph Bonaparte as King of Naples, Louis Bonaparte as King of Holland, (to which it promised also to relinquish the lordship of Jever), Jerome Bonaparte as King of the newly erected kingdon of Westphalia. 6. Russia likewise acknowledged the confederation of the Rhine, not only in its present extent and constituent parts, but also its future enlargements, on mere notice being given. 7. Mutual guarantee of the states of both parties and of their allies, who were included in the treaty. 8. Russia at the same time concluded an armistice with the Port, withdrew its forces from Moldavia and Walachia, which remained unoccupied by the Turks; and accepted the mediation of Napoleon. 9. Napoleon accepted the mediation of Russia with England, on condition that England should accept of it within a month after the exchange of the present treaty. 10. In a *secret* article (Moniteur, July 8th, 1812) Russia entered upon an obligation to make common cause with France, in case England should reject the peace, with the acknowledgement of the freedom of the ocean; to require the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon to do the same; and to declare war against England.

The negotiators of the peace of Tilsit with Russia were Talleyrand and Prince Kurakin.

26. The peace with Prussia, concluded two days after, by which about half of the monarchy was

returned as a gift of charity, reduced this state, in extent and material power, to a state of the second rank. But this loss of territory was not its greatest misfortune. The oppression it had to bear in the peace, and the most contemptuous treatment, which only the haughty conqueror can allow himself to exercise, seemed,—if any object can be ascribed to it,—to justify the suspicion, that his only wish was to urge it to the resistance of despair, in order to complete the half perfected work, as in the case of Venice and Naples, and elsewhere, and declare that "the house of Brandenburg had ceased to reign." Does not the moral degradation inflict a deeper wound on a generous people than the political? Or must this first occur, to make it felt by all, that life is not the first of blessings?

The conditions of the peace at Tilsit, between France and Prussia, 9th July 1807. 1. Prussia received back the territories, it was not required to resign. 2. Prussia ceded and left to the disposition of the French emperor *a.* all its possessions between the Elbe and the Rhine without exception. *b.* The circle of Cotbuss to Saxony. *c.* All its provinces acquired since 1772 from Poland; (all of South-Prussia, and a part of West-Prussia and New-East-Prussia,) of which the duchy of Warsaw was formed and consigned to the king of Saxony. *d.* The city of Dantzic with its territory. 3. Prussia recognized Joseph Bonaparte as King of Naples, Louis Bonaparte as King of Holland, and Jerome Bonaparte as King of Westphalia, as also the formation of this kingdom from the ceded Prussian and other countries. 4. All Prussian harbors and countries should remain closed till the future peace against British navigation and trade. 5. All sums and monies, which were imposed on private

persons or institutions in the restored provinces or on Prussian institutions in the ceded provinces, should remain to the owners. 6. All farther points respecting the return and evacuation of the provinces and fortresses, were to be regulated by a particular convention, which was concluded at Konigsberg on the 12th July. The entire evacuation of the Prussian territory by the first of Oct. was promised, on condition of the payment of all contributions levied since 1st of Nov. 1806 and still in arrears. But instead of the 19 millions of francs according to Prussian reckoning, the French estimate fixed it at 112 millions; even this, after long negotiations and unheard of oppressions, was arbitrarily augmented to 140 millions, 8th Sept. 1808. And after 120 millions of this had been already paid, the evacuation was accorded, 3rd Nov. only under the proviso, that three fortresses, Stettins, Custrin and Glogau should be occupied, and provisioned at the expense of Prussia. The free Dantzic also received a French garrison. And yet amidst all this public misery, the University of Berlin was founded to supply the loss of Halle. So high does intellectual culture stand in the regard of a German state!—Prussia had already concluded peace with England at Memel, Jan. 28th 1807, in consideration of the renunciation of all claims to Hanover.

27. The peace at Tilsit determined likewise, though in a very different manner, the political relations with the Port and Sweden. To the former it gave quiet and restored a province already lost; on the latter it brought down renewed war, and soon afterwards, the loss of almost half its territory.

By the British dominion in the Mediterranean, the occupation of Corfu by Russian troops, and the insurrection and the war of liberty of the Servians, favored by them, under their heroic leader Czerni George since 1801 on the one side, and by the neighborhood of France through the

cession of Dalmatia (see page 245) on the other, the situation of the Port had become much more critical in the eyes of all but its own. General Sebastiani was sent thither in 1806, and demanded that the connexion, renewed with England and Russia (Dec. 30th 1805) should be dissolved, Sept. 16th, and acquired an increasing influence in the Divan. Russia anticipated a movement, and occupied Moldavia in Nov. The Porte declared war on Russia, Jan. 7th, 1807. The Turks lost a naval battle at Lemnos, July 1st, but no farther use of their victory was made by the Russians. An English squadron also appeared for the first time, though in vain, before Constantinople 20th Febr.—In consequence of the peace at Tilsit, a truce was made at Sloboja, 24th of Aug. and Moldavia was vacated.—The relations of France with Sweden, after the armistice already concluded in Pomerania at Schlatkov 3rd of July had been annulled in a most ill-fated hour, were inimical, and were soon the cause of war with Russia.

28. After such pacifications, the universal dominion of Bonaparte seemed to be sufficiently established on the European Continent. Russia, expressly renouncing all influence on it, appeared no longer to belong to it; on its frontier the duchy of Warsaw was a rival, striving after aggrandizement; Prussia, overthrown and dismembered; Austria, humbled; Germany, fettered to France by the enlargement of the confederation of the Rhine and by the foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia, as it was called, at the expense of Prussia, Hanover, Hesse and Brunswick, (never acknowledged by the three last); French princes on the thrones of Holland and Italy; Spain in alliance; from the Pyrenees to the Vistula, French dominion, French law, and, in the

midst of peace, French armies—where did a hope survive, unless it were in Britain?

The decree for the foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia was promulgated 18th Aug. 1807, afterwards increased by the rest of Hanover, in Feb. 1810. Half the domains were reserved, destined, together with the property of the cloisters, for the endowment of French officers.

29. But a new and greater storm was gathering against Britain. By the peace at Tilsit—contrary to all expectation—Russia had been made beforehand not merely a spectator, but an active participator in it, by the secret articles. Dependance was placed on the voluntary or forcible co-operation of the fleet of Denmark. But England anticipated it; and the surrender of the Danish fleet compelled by the bombardment of Copenhagen, gave England an accession of security, though not of renown.

Had the committing of the mediation to Russia in the peace of Tilsit, (the consequences of which were easily foreseen), any other object than to estrange Russia and England?—The refusal to impart the secret articles (which were learned, however, through other channels,) could but check confidence between the two states; and if at such a juncture, proportionably petty motives, like the refusal of a loan, or the demand of commercial concessions, operated on either side, it was one of the moments, of which policy but too soon repents.—The attack on Copenhagen, the triumph of French artifice, brought the war to a rupture. Russia declared war against England, Nov. 7th, 1808.—Another consequence was, an alliance of Denmark with France on the 31st of October, 1807, which was to open to this latter power the road to Sweden.

30. And yet it was too evident, that even the

connexion with Russia could not compel the impregnable England to peace by open force. This then was to be effected in another way, and the Continental system, as it was termed,—the total exclusion of England from all trade and all communication with the continent—was brought forward. Though the idea itself was by no means new, it was made so by the extent and mode of its enforcement. Practical tyranny was unveiled in all its odiousness in the system of customs and espionage; and while the despot involved himself in a conflict with nature herself, who dictates the exchange of the productions of every zone, he began a contest, of which the final issue could not be doubtful to the intelligent observer.

The idea of the continental system originated in America (see p. 83); but its enforcement in such an extent was a result and at the same time a proof of Napoleon's universal dominion. Its corner stone was laid by the decrees of Berlin on the 21st of Nov. 1806, as a fundamental law of the empire, till England should recognize the French maritime law; by them 1. The British islands were declared in a state of blockade. 2. Every English subject on the continent was declared a prisoner of war. 3. All trade in English merchandize was prohibited; and all articles of its manufactures or its colonies were confiscated. 4. No vessel should be admitted from a British harbor or its colonies. These regulations were met by the British Orders in Council 7th Jan. 1807, which prohibited every ship from entering any French port or any port under French influence, under pain of confiscation. This was followed by the Decree of Warsaw, Jan. 25th, 1807, declaring that all British commodities were confiscated in the (just occupied) Hanseatic cities, without respect of owners. This decree was

retaliated March 11th, by a strict blockade of the Elbe and Weser; and the Order in Council of Nov. 11th, declaring in blockade all ports from which the British flag was excluded; and that all ships proceeding thither should be captured, unless they had touched at a British port and paid a duty. This was answered by the Decree of Milan 17th Dec. 1807, by which every ship, which should submit to these conditions, was declared *denationalized* and a lawful prize. Thus all the navigation of neutrals was suppressed.—Would it not have been—especially with respect to the United States of America—more politic and more worthy of England to have replied to the first decree by silence?—Finally by the frantic Decree of Fontainebleau 19th Oct. 1810, it was ordered that all British manufactures should be burned from Naples to Holland, and from Spain to Germany. Instead of the pyres of the inquisition of belief, those of the inquisition of commerce were now reared, often the objects of the ridicule of those, by whom they were kindled. And yet the love of gain was stronger than madness. By the decrees of Trianon Aug. 5th and Sept. 12th, 1810, permission was given to import colonial commodities on payment of a duty of 50 per cent. on their value. And finally —will posterity believe it?—a formal trade was allowed to be carried on by *licenses*, contrary to his own decrees! The contraband trade was carried on to an incredible extent, which no lines of custom-houses and no oaths could prevent.

Napoleon has a right to demand, that his policy should be viewed from his own position. This is done to the utmost in the *Manuscrit venu de St. Helene*, London. 1817, written by him. The open avowal, that "he never took into consideration the right, but only the matter," p. 6. applied to the assertion, that "he had made it his aim as emperor, not only to rule France, but to subdue the world," p. 28. gives the fullest key to his policy, to which we have but little cause to object the want of consistency. After such a confession, the judiciousness of the measures he adopted,

and not their morality and justice, is to be considered. We shall therefore have, hereafter, to view them from this side only.

31. The consequences of this system were alike pernicious in a mercantile and political respect. By the Continental System, the despot put himself in opposition to our whole civilization. It was most closely connected with commerce, and this, prosecuted for a long time with every portion of the earth, could not be reduced to a miserable internal trade, without being followed by its destruction. What was all the trade in woad and beets in comparison with the trade of the two Indies? Domestic manufactures, it was said, were the gainers. But is the gain of the manufacturers at the same time a sure gain of the people, so long as they do not offer as good and cheap commodities, as foreign countries?

32. In a political view, the Continental System was a false system, because it rested on the double assumption, that the foreign commerce of the British was to them the grand source of acquisition; and that this would be annihilated by closing the continent. Experience has shown the contrary. If single sources of gain failed, a people, that ruled every sea, could easily open others. Was it not the very discovery of the secret, that, in case of necessity, the continent might be forgone—at least for a long time—,which must have made Great Britain invincible in her own estimation.

33. But it was easy to foresee the consequences, which the Continental System must have for the

dominion of the emperor on the continent itself. Its entire impoverishment would have imposed a limit; for among the continental states themselves —France only was to be benefitted at the cost of others, even of its allies—there existed any thing but freedom of traffic; and such a compulsion must have been short in proportion to the strictness with which it was enforced. The feeling of the intolerable oppression must have created the greater opposition, and soon resistance, the greater the number of those who had been forced to submit. It is instructive to see, in a new example, how tyranny becomes the mother of liberty.

Russia and Prussia acceded to the continental system by the treaty of Tilsit; Denmark by its alliance; the Confederation of the Rhine, Holland and Italy by their relations; Austria and Spain in Jan. 1808; and at last even Sweden in 1810. At the two extremities of Europe, there remained Portugal, and the Port; to which the whole system was probably a riddle and which self-interest still prompted to spare.

34. Projects were planned against Portugal, which was devoted to England, in order to prepare the way for greater plans against Spain. But first Spain itself was to assist in overthrowing Portugal. The partition of Portugal was concerted in a secret treaty, and Spain was assured of its share of the spoils; while a French-Spanish army marched against Lisbon.

A secret treaty was signed at Fontainebleau on the 27th of Oct. 1807, between Duroc and Don Izquierdo. Portugal was divided into three parts; the northern, Lusitania, was destined for the king of Etruria, who relinquished his kingdom to Napoleon (in consequence, the queen of Etru-

ria abdicated, Dec. 10th, see above p. 229); Lusitania was occupied by French troops. The second, Algarves, was for the prince of Peace; the third, the main part, was to remain in sequestration till the peace in favor of France. A French army of 28,000 men, combined with 11,000 Spaniards, marched through Spain against Portugal; a greater army was assembled at Bayonne.—It was therefore a conspiracy of a father against his own children; if, indeed Charles IV. knew more of it, than his favorite wished.

35. Fate, however, had decreed otherwise. Tho' the throne of Portugal fell, though it was there declared, that "the house of Braganza had ceased to reign;" a new and greater arose, the other side of the ocean. On British advice and under British protection, the royal house emigrated to Brazil.

Lisbon was entered by Junot 1st Dec. after the court had set sail to Brazil, with troops and treasures, the 30th Nov. previous. Many Spanish fortresses had already been craftily occupied on the march through Spain.—And under pretence of occupying Etruria, the flower of the Spanish troops was sent to Italy; whence they were transferred to Denmark in 1807, after the cession of this country, in order to threaten Sweden; but they soon escaped from Fühnen under their leader Romana in English ships to their oppressed country 1808.

36. Hitherto, enemies only had been driven from their thrones; Spain was to show that friends and allies—for Napoleon had long ruled in Spain under these titles—were no more secure on theirs. Charles IV. had seen and aided in the expulsion of his brother, his daughter, and his son-in-law; it was now his turn. Dispossessed by the rebellion of his own son, allured with him and his family into the snare of the robber of crowns, and de-

prived of his throne and his liberty, the Spanish house was doomed to exhibit scenes to the astonished world, similar to those of the ancient regal houses, whose crimes and fall had long been the exclusive property of the tragic stage.—Thus all the Bourbons had been compelled to descend from their thrones!

The plan against Spain was, to take advantage of the internal discord in the royal family, kept up and managed by French agents. The rupture was occasioned by the hatred that Ferdinand, Prince of Austria, entertained towards the all-directing favorite, Don Manuel Godoy, who, wholly devoted to France, had permitted himself to be used, since his elevation, as Napoleon's instrument. Ferdinand was imprisoned 30th Oct. 1807, on the charge, that he had attempted the life of his father. He was released on the 3rd of Nov. and his pretended accomplices acquitted; but from that time there was mutual animosity. The people became exasperated with the ministers, while a second French army under Murat, approached the capital. A popular insurrection, having arisen in Aranjuez 16th March, 1808, soon spread to Madrid; the prince of the peace was arrested, and Charles IV. abdicated 19th March. The accession of Ferdinand VII. and the fall of the minister would have frustrated the plans of Napoleon, had not Charles IV. protested against his own abdication as forced. Napoleon arrived at Bayonne 15th April, whither Ferdinand was inveigled by Savary 20th April, as also his parents, 30th April. By the treaty of Bayonne, May 5th, Charles the Fourth consigned to the disposition of Napoleon the Spanish monarchy in consideration of—the castle and park of Compiegne and a pension. The weak father, now the accuser of his own son, demanded the renunciation of his rights to the succession. After the threat of Napoleon, "death or abdication," Ferdinand renounced all his rights by the convention of May

10th.—The royal family was removed to Compiegne, Ferdinand and his brother to Valençay, where they were detained as prisoners, under Talleyrand's supervision.*

37. The throne of Spain and the Indies, thus
6th June. vacated, was conferred by a decree of the tyrant, which was ratified by a Junta con-
20th June. vened on the frontier, upon his brother Joseph, king of Naples, who had for his successor in that kingdom Joachim Murat, Bonaparte's brother-in-law, former duke of Berg. A constitution similar to the French, religious liberty
7th July. excepted, was proffered to the Junta and accepted; the Junta was immediately dissolved, and the new king sent to Madrid, to take possession of the throne, thus gained by robbery.

The Grand duke of Berg was appointed king of the Two Sicilies on the 15th of July 1808; the vacated duchy was granted to the son, (at four years of age,) of the king of Holland, with the injunction, officially inculcated, "that his first duty was towards the emperor, his second towards France, his third towards his future subjects." Till his majority, the Grand Duchy, divided into four departments, remained under French administration.

38. The Spanish usurpation, by enlarging the dominion of the family, seemed a new step towards universal dominion. Experience has prov-

* Thick as was the veil, which it was attempted to throw over this tissue of wickedness, it was soon removed by the secretary of state: Pedro Cevallos: Exposé des moyens employés par l'empereur Napoleon pour usurper la couronne d'Espagne, publiés à Madrit 1 Sept. 1808.—And afterwards: Exposé des motifs qui ont engagé en 1808. S. M. C. Ferdinand VII. à se rendre à Bayonne, présenté à l'Espagne et à l'Europe par D. Juan Escoiquiz. Paris. 1816. Both were men of the best information, as eye witnesses.

ed that—viewed by this standard—it was a political fault. It was unnecessary, since Napoleon already ruled there. It was done without a knowledge of the country and the nation; a universal insurrection having ensued, it opened the abyss, which devoured alike the French armies and the French finances; and it gave England a theatre for war. But it taught Europe, that the people are more powerful than mercenary armies; and it was destined—to give freedom to another quarter of the globe.

The insurrection first broke out in Aranjuez on the 2nd of May, 1808. In the same month it had spread over almost all Spain; Juntas were erected in each province; and above all at Seville. The first great result was the capitulation of Gen. Dupont in Andalusia, by Castannos, July 20th; and the successful defence of Saragossa by Palafox, Aug. 15. On the 1st of Aug. Joseph had to leave Madrid.—Meanwhile the insurrection spread through Portugal; and a league was made with Spain, June 14th, England having declared the war with the Spanish nation at an end on the 4th of June, and sent an auxiliary body to Portugal; where Junot, after the battle at Vimeira, Aug. 21st, was compelled to make an honorable capitulation at Lisbon.—In Spain many battles were fought, great and small; but the victories of the French gave them nothing more than the ground, on which they stood. But new, reinvigorated armies were sent out, composed of French troops and the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine, Prussia having been evacuated. —A central Junta was, meanwhile, established in Aranjuez, Sept. 25th; the higher authority of which the provincial Juntas would not, however, acknowledge, as they regarded it only as a subordinate deputation from their own number.

39. The resolution of Napoleon to proceed to Spain in person rendered some precautions in

Europe necessary, in order, as Austria had already assumed a doubtful attitude, to protect his rear, and, above all, to secure Russia. A personal meeting seemed the most judicious expedient, as it had been seen at Tilsit, how much might be effected by such a measure. The congress at Erfurt had apparently no other object; since the renewed proffer of peace to England was evidently only for ostentation. It has not been authentically divulged, what other agreements were made; what may have been concerted with respect to Sweden, and even with respect to the Port, in order that Napoleon might have his hands disencumbered in Spain; but that the *integrity* of the Port, so often brought forward, was, in the mouth of the usurper, nothing more than a phrase, no doubt could be admitted since the expedition to Egypt.

At the congress of Erfurt Oct. 1808, besides the two emperors, the four kings of the Confederation of the Rhine appeared in person, together with a great number of princes; others sent ambassadors. The two emperors extended an invitation to peace to England by a joint letter, Oct. 8th. It was immediately declined, since it was refused to admit the Spanish nation to the deliberations.—Moldavia and Walachia were given up (according to French accounts) to Russia, in consideration of its recognizing the occupation of Spain; Turkish provinces were probably assigned to Austria, but not accepted.—These transactions were followed by the campaign of the emperor in Spain, Nov. and Dec. Several Spanish corps were defeated, which could not maintain their ground in regular battle. The English army retreated under Sir John Moore to Corunna. This bold general fell in the conflict before the city, Jan. 16th, 1809, to give place to a greater. The British army embarked, but

a formal alliance was concluded with the Spanish nation Jan. 14th, on the condition of mutual assistance and none other but a common peace. Ferdinand VII., or whoever should be recognized by the Spanish nation as their king, was to be recognized by England.

40. The congress of Erfurt, and the negotiations, begun with the ambassadors of Austria, seemed indeed to restore the amicable relations between that country and France.—It was even permitted to the princes of the confederation to stop their preparations in behalf of their protector;—but the causes of the distrust lay too deep, and the circumstances of the times required too oppressive demands, to suffer the peace to exist. After the experiences, already made in the peace of Presburg, should Austria await in quiet a fate similar to that of Prussia in the treaty of Tilsit? And could it meet with any other, if Spain should be subjected? The effects of the example given in Spain were already visible; the princes felt that their strength lay in their people; and by the erection of the militia in Austria—undervalued and even ridiculed by the emperor himself—the first great impulse was given, which was, at a future period, to hurl him from his throne. Not in the single wrongs only, enumerated by Austria into its manifesto, but in the whole situation of Europe, lay the cause of a fourth war, which it began against the usurper. Apart from its issue, Austria retains the glory of having the most perseveringly persisted in the conflict for liberty on the continent; as it was eventually to decide that conflict by its accession. 12th Oct.

As early as June 1808, military preparations were made in Austria, and a general militia was established; which make it probable that war was already resolved on.—Napoleon made repeated demands that the people should be disarmed; for the states were to stand defenceless. Fruitless proposals of a mutual guarantee were made to Russia, March 27th. The war immediately broke out, and was formally declared against France, April 15th.

41. Though this was altogether an aggressive war on the part of Austria—very inconvenient just then to the emperor—it was a rightful aggressive war for breaking the chains, that she endured, and avoiding others yet more severe. This was felt by the nations; and though the summons of Austria to the Germans was answered by actions, only in the faithful Tyrol, yet in other places were seen the convulsions of liberty, striking the oppressor with terror. The dreaded image of the *Tugendbund* had more effect than the *Tugendbund* itself could have had, had it appeared in public. And 1809. April. if the flames, that a Schill and Doernberg attempted to kindle, were again extinguished, they showed what a fire was smouldering under the ashes.

The Tyrolese commenced an insurrection under Hofer, Speckbacher ect. aided by Austrians under Chasteler etc.—A bloody conflict was sustained with the Bavarians and French, April and May, with decided success; till the departure of the Austrians, May 19th, 1809. The insurrection was revived, and, having spread to Vorarlberg and Saltzberg, kept up under the most furious battles with varying success till the end of Nov. The final issue depended necessarily on the event of the contest waged on the principal theatre. But it was seen in a German country, what a popular war is;

and the execution of Hofer and others, after an amnesty had been proclaimed 5th of April 1810 at Mantua, gave freedom its martyrs.*

42. Judicious as were the regulations of Austria, great as was the enthusiasm of its nation and its armies, it was left to itself alone. No connexion with England, cut off as she was, was possible; (no benefit accrued to Austria from England's selfish undertakings;) Prussia lay prostrate; in Russia, its old ally, it could now behold only an enemy; its Polish provinces bordered, not without danger, on the duchy of Warsaw; and instead of the German Empire, which it once managed, its most dangerous foe stood on its boundaries in the Confederation of the Rhine. And it was on the aid of this confederacy, that Bonaparte calculated, having left the greater part of his own forces in Spain. Thus Germany saw—for the last time, it is to be hoped—the mournful spectacle of its sons, lacerating each other.

The main Austrian army entered Bavaria under the Archduke Charles, while another under the Archduke John penetrated into Italy and Tyrol, and a third smaller one, advanced to Warsaw under the Archduke Ferdinand, 10th April 1809. Their antagonists, besides some French corps, were principally Bavarians, Wurtemburgers, Saxons and Poles. The Germans, however, were all under French generals. After several great battles at Landshut and Abensberg on the 19th and 20th of April, the battle of Eckmuhl was fought on the 22nd of April, upon which the Archduke Charles retired to Bohemia over the Danube, by way of

* Der Krieg gegen die Tyroler Landleute im Jahr 1809 von J. L. S. Bartholdy 1814. We might believe ourselves transported to an earlier age!

Ratisbon, in order to confront his enemy once more at Vienna. Napoleon passed forward, therefore, through Austria by way of Linz, Ebersberg against Vienna under several battles. Vienna was a second time taken May 12th, and the Hungarians were—in vain—exhorted to insurrection.—In consequence, the Archduke John retired from Tyrol and Italy, after the successful battle at Sacile to Hungary April 12th, pursued to the Raab by the Viceroy, who formed a junction with the main army of Napoleon at Bruck on the 27th of May.—The Archduke Ferdinand withdrew from Warsaw, and Gallicia was occupied in May by the Poles under Poniatowsky ; who were tardily joined by the Russians.

43. The theatre of the war was thus transferred to the gates of the capital; and nothing but the Danube separated the two armies. The day at Aspern proved for the first time, that even he, who was deemed invincible, might be conquered; but the victory was not improved, as had been expected. Time was thus gained for new preparations, and after the second passage, the battle at Wagram was fought, which resulted in the retreat of the Austrians, and shortly in a truce, which led to a peace.

On the first passage of the Danube the great battle was fought at Aspern and Esslingen, on the Marchfeld 21st and 22nd of May 1809. Repulsed and, after the destruction of the bridges, cooped up in the island of Lobau, Napoleon was allowed time to escape and recover. He crossed the river a second time, and the deadly battle of Wagram was fought for two days 5th and 6th July. The Austrians retreated to Znaim where they concluded a truce July 12th; after which the gallant Duke William of Brunswick-Oels, refusing to have any part in it and mindful of the honor of the house of the Guelphs, accomplished with his band of volunteers his

perilous journey from Saxony to England by way of Oldenburg, 25th July—Aug. 14th.—Meanwhile England undertook an expedition, badly planned and worse executed, against the island Walcheren July—Sept. intending to destroy the newly built navy at Antwerp. On the other hand Martinique was conquered 25th Febr. and a fruitless attack was made on the Isle de Bourbon Sept. 21st. But no energetic diversions were made in the North of Germany, where there were no ships and colonies to conquer.

44. The truce of Znaim was not followed by such a speedy pacification, as is usual; whether it were that Austria would not so easily comply with the conditions exacted, or expected Russia's participation; whether it were that the emperor wished first to have time to levy the immense contributions, imposed on the Austrian provinces; since no such treatment as was used in the case of Prussia would be possible here after the peace. After the lapse of three months, the removal of the deliberations from Hungary to Schoenbrun, and a change of negotiators, the peace of Vienna was concluded, purchased by conditions, than which more honorable ones might apparently have been expected after such a struggle.

The conditions of the peace of Vienna or Schoenbrun, Oct. 10th, 1809; 1. Austria ceded to the disposition of Napoleon in favor of the princes of the confederation of the Rhine Saltzburg with Berchtolsgaden, the Innviertel and half of the Hausruckviertel (granted to Bavaria). 2. Austria ceded to Napoleon the Illyrian provinces, as they were afterwards called (the circle of Villach of Carinthia, all Crain, the county of Goertz; the territory of Trieste, and Montefalcone, half Croatia with the Hungarian Littorale and Fiume). 3. To the king of Saxony as Duke of Warsaw all

West Gallacia; and to Russia—in recompense of its aid—a district of 400,000 souls in East Gallicia. 4. Amnesty for the Tyrolese and Voralbergians. 5. Austria promised an unconditional accession to the continental system, and to break off all its relations with England. 6. Austria renounced the dignity of Grand Master of the Teutonic Order (afterwards declared to be abolished by Napoleon). 7. Austria acknowledged the changes that should be made in Portugal, Spain and Italy. 8. The allied states of France were included in the peace, and Napoleon guarantied to Austria the rest of its possessions. The war with Russia ceased of itself.

The negotiators of the peace of Vienna, were the Duke of Champagny and Prince John Lichtenstein, for whom Prince Metternich was substituted.

45. The peace of Vienna deprived anew the Austrian Monarchy of more than three and a half millions of inhabitants. Yet it found a recompense for this loss in the faithful attachment of its subjects; and what is lost like Tyrol is not lost. But nevertheless it appeared almost certain that after a new pause, only a new storm would be needed to dissolve it into several states. Did not the exhortation to Hungary, the establishment of the Illyrian provinces, and the aggrandizement of the duchy of Warsaw by half of Gallicia (which made Russia itself begin to fear) perfectly justify this view; if policy, judging by the past, might dare to throw a glance into the future? Wholly cut off from the sea, deprived of its bulwarks the Alps, and with open boundaries, politically surrounded, and by armed states, on the South, West and North, and with distracted finances, no hope seemed left to Austria, except that policy is so often mistaken

(because physical power alone can be calculated,) where it believes itself to have judged most correctly; and after all, every thing in the world has its measure and limit. That a future catastrophe for the Turkish empire lay in the back ground of the peace of Vienna, appeared hardly doubtful; but reflecting minds were more and more convinced, that the path to better things lay only through great calamity.

The erection of the Illyrian provinces, to which Dalmatia, ceded in the peace of Presburg, and united with the kingdom of Italy, (see p. 245) was added, together with Ragusa, which had been occupied on the 27th May, 1806, and Cattaro and the cession of the Ionian islands by Russia to France 9th Aug. 1807, of which England was able to conquer the smaller only and not the fortified Corfu, made France the immediate neighbor of the Turkish empire, as well of Servia, now in a state of revolt, as of Greece.

46. The moment of the contest with Austria, to which the eyes of all were turned, appeared to the emperor to be the most favorable moment for a blow, from which, although it had been long concerted, he had hitherto been restrained by a respect for what was sacred. There was something revolting in driving the head of the church from his throne, however much the world was accustomed to the robbery of the church. But too many lofty ideas were associated with the name of Rome, for the empire of Europe to be complete without the dominion of Rome, even if the way thither lay through crimes. Hence after many acts of violence, the decree went forth from

Vienna, commanding the yet remaining states of the church to be incorporated into the French empire.

The collisions of the temporal with the spiritual authority were inevitable in the system of Napoleon, who wished the latter to have no influence on civil affairs. These collisions had begun soon after the conclusion of the Concordat (see p. 235) on account of the conditions arbitrarily annexed to it. From that time abrupt demands and contentions ensued of a political nature.—The city of Rome was occupied by a military force under Gen. Miollis, 2d Feb. 1808. The demand of an alliance, offensive and defensive, (principally against England, by shutting the ports), was firmly resisted by Pius VII. as inconsistent with the obligations of the head of the church. Ancona, Urbino and Macerata were immediately occupied and annexed to the kingdom of Italy 2nd April. During all the next year, unparalleled acts of violence were perpetrated. The Cardinals and Papal Ministers were removed and incarcerated, his troops disarmed; even the recesses of his palace no longer afforded an asylum. Finally, the decree of the annexation of the states of the church and the city of Rome was promulgated May 17th, 1809, and executed on the 9th of June, by virtue of his rights as successor of Charles the Great!

47. The defenceless could not prevent the rapine of the powerful. But Bonaparte did not seize his prey with entire impunity. In the full dignity of his office, without deviating a tittle from his duty, Pius VII. had withstood every encroachment on his rights as a prince and pope. When the last blow of the usurper fell, he also had recourse to his last weapons; and Napoleon bore away his spoils, loaded with the maledictions of the Church. Pius the Seventh was arrested, forc-

ibly removed and imprisoned. All this power could do; but it could not restore the harmony between church and state, and how far might this variance lead, if the church should continue united with the state? As the continental system of Napoleon was repugnant with nature, so his ecclesiastical system was at war with conscience. And was the latter easier to subdue?

By the papal bull to Napoleon I. of June 11th, 1809, published, notwithstanding every precaution, on the 12th, "Napoleon I. Emperor of the French, and all his co-adjutors in the violences perpetrated in Rome and the states of the Church since the 2d of Feb. 1808, were declared excommunicated, with all who should oppose the publicity of this bull."—From this time the Quirinal palace was watched, and finally about midnight of the 5th of July the department of the Pope was entered by gens d'armes under their captain Radet; the Pope was arrested, and immediately transported, in company with Cardinal Pacca, at first over Mont Cenis to Grenoble, July 21st, and from thence by way of Nice to Savona, Aug. 9th, where Pius VII. refusing compliance with all the demands, receiving only the daily prison allowance, lived three years, in part on alms; till in June of 1812, he was dragged as a prisoner to Fontainebleau. He, who bent all, was unable to bend this aged prelate; for the church also was to have its martyr; and who was more worthy of this than its head?*

* A collection of the most important documents from the papal court (perhaps the most moving of those eventful times,) from Febr. 1808 to June 1809 with the bull of excommunication and its publication may be found in Schoell Recueil etc. Vol. I. p. 123—255.

Storia di Pontificato di Pio Papa VII. fino al faustissimo di lui ritorno alla S. Sede, seguito in giorno 24. Maggio 1814. II Vol. 1815. Drawn and compiled from public papers and documents. The two Voll. only go to Sept. 1806.

48. But in the north of Europe, great revolutions were produced by the peace of Tilsit, and the political convulsion was to extend even to the farthest boundaries of Lapland. It was occasioned by the obstinate firmness of Gustavus IV. He had remained in a state of war with France (see p. 260) and his close connexion with England occasioned not only a war with Russia and Denmark, but was to cost him and his house the throne, and deprive his kingdom of Finland; for Russia believed herself bound, not to let such an opportunity pass unimproved. Strange! The only one, that could and might have maintained neutrality with dignity—would not.

A subsidiary treaty was concluded between England and Sweden, 8th Feb. 1808; on the other hand, Russia demanded the fulfilment of the conditions of the armed neutrality (which had long ago ceased).—Russia issued a declaration Febr. 22nd, and commenced at the same time hostilities; the imperial ambassador was unwisely arrested in Stockholm.—The Russians invaded Finland, with the declaration that it was incorporated with Russia, and the commander promulgated an address calling on "their good neighbors and the brave Fins to be quiet and (for they had not gone to school to France in vain) desert the cause of their king."—At this time, Denmark declared war against Sweden in consequence of the alliance of the first mentioned power with France (see p. 261), while a French-Spanish corps-d'armée under Bernadotte (from whom however the Spanish escaped to Spain under Romana (see p. 266) advanced to Denmark, without however crossing to Sweden, though Swedish troops attacked Norway, but ineffectually, 1808; the cession of which country was even then agitated. The British auxiliary corps under J. Moore had to return from Gottenburg

without disembarking (July), because the two parties could come to no agreement respecting the use to be made of them.—Thus Gustavus IV. remained wholly abandoned.—Meanwhile the Russians advanced into Swedish Finland in the summer of 1808, having fought many single engagements on land and sea, with varying success; but having penetrated in the autumn into Northern Finland, a truce was made Nov. 19th, by which the province of Uleaburg was relinquished to the Russians.—But after the expiration of the truce, the Russian army crossed the frozen Bothnian Gulf, from Wasa to Umeo, under Barclay de Tolly (unheard of feat!) and Torneo was at the same time conquered, March 1809, and the Isle of Aland taken. Thus threatened on all sides as far as the capital, and on the brink of destruction, a part of the army broke out into insurrection; after the revolution of March 13th, 1809, the king was arrested by Klingspor and Adlercreutz; he abdicated at Gripsholm March 29th; and the deposed king with his family was expelled from the kingdom. Necessity indeed enjoins, that the pilot, who is steering directly on the rocks, should be removed from the helm; but was there no hereditary right in Sweden? The government was taken possession of by the uncle of the king Charles XIII., Christian Augustus, prince of Holstein-Augustenburg, being adopted and appointed his eventual successor. Negotiations were opened with Russia, and by the peace at Fredericksham, Sept. 17th, 1809. 1. Sweden ceded to Russia all the principality of Finland to the river Torneo, together with the Isle of Aland. 2. It promised to adhere to the Continental System. 3. Sweden retained, however, certain privileges with respect to the trade with Finland; especially the free export of grain from thence to the amount of 50,000 *Tschetwert*. 4. Russia promised its mediation to the peace with France and Denmark. Sweden thus lost more than a third of its territory and population, while Russia was rendered im-

pregnable in the North.—In consequence of the mediation, peace was concluded with Denmark at Jonköping, Dec. 10th, without any conditions of importance, and with France at Paris, Jan. 6th, 1810. 1. Sweden was to join the Continental System. 2. Swedish Pomerania with the island Rugen was to be restored; but Sweden acquiesced in the dotations made there.

The negotiators of the peace at Fredericksham were, Count Romanzow and Alopeus on the side of Russia, de Stedingk and Skoeldebrand on the part of Sweden.—Of that at Paris de Champagny and d'Essen.

49. At the close of the year the continent was again in a state of tranquillity, with the exception of the peninsula of the Pyrenees. But what a tranquillity! The continental system, now embracing that quarter of the globe from the Pyrenees to the Wolga, rendered it an immense prison, in which the "great European family" was confined with the utmost rigor, surrounded by an army of spies. And even within this spacious prison, there was anything but freedom of traffic. The boundaries of each state, and especially of the leading state, were guarded with threefold exactness; the police of passports—every stranger was suspected—recalled tyranny to remembrance at every step; every person coveted the good fortune to be maimed, in order, perhaps, to escape the conscription; and no attack on productive industry was too outrageous, provided it promised to augment the ready money in France, and consequently in the public treasury; for to this single fundamental position was reduced the whole national economy, formed after the strictest maxims of the mercan-

tile system. Several gigantic undertakings were indeed executed—at the cost of the people—in consequence of this despotism; canals excavated through highlands, and roads constructed over the Alps; but what are these without trade? And if millions were annually expended on the embellishment of the capital, (while the exchequer appropriated to itself the income of the towns,) yet the union of all resources was unable to rear a monument, which, like those of the Pharaohs and Caesars, nay, like those of Louis XIV. might proclaim to future generations the power and the taste of the monarch.

50. By wars and pacifications, by the subversion and erection of thrones, was the system of universal sovereignty founded; means of another kind were needed to confirm it. Not all the ancient dynasties could be or were to be overthrown, the new dynasty had not princes enough for all the thrones. It seemed possible to supply the deficiencies by family alliances, contracted by intermarriages with the ancient houses; and a brother, a step-son, and an adopted daughter were married into princely houses of Germany. The union of the emperor himself—after the divorce of his first wife—with the daughter of a German emperor, soon blessed by the birth of a son, satisfied his boldest wishes alike for the present and for the future. Many hoped that ambition would be repressed by softer feelings, the interest of the husband and father; others feared that his empire was now consolidated by such connexions beyond the possibility of being shaken, both ignorant that

Germany had an emperor, who—if reduced to the choice—placed his country above his daughter.

Napoleon was divorced from his first wife, Josephine, by birth, la Pagerie, the widow of Beauharnois, on the 15th of Dec. 1809. He married Maria Louisa, Archduchess of Austria, 2nd of April, 1810. A son was born March 20th, 1811; who was immediately appointed king of Rome.

51. Experience soon proved how vain were those hopes. The cause, however, is not to be sought altogether in the personal character of the emperor; it lay no less in the nature of the dominion, of which he was the founder. His efforts to change his indirect sway into immediate dominion—of which the old Roman provincial system affords an evidence—were apparently inseparable from it; because partial thraldom is more insupportable than total servitude. The maxim of uniting the dependent countries to the leading state became more and more general. It was applied to parts of Italy, Switzerland, Germany and—destroying his own work—to all the kingdom of Holland, where his brother himself, no longer able to endure his tyranny, abdicated the throne. A mere decree, expedited by the ever ready conservative senate, was sufficient to determine the doom of those countries; and what limits could be looked for, if not even his own brother was spared.

The estates of the Church were incorporated with France Feb. 17th, 1810; Tuscany March 5th (nominally under the administration of Napoleon's sister Eliza;) Valais, separated from Switzerland, by reason of the military road over the Simplon, Dec. 10th. The Italian Tyrol, taken from Bava-

ria, was annexed to the kingdom of Italy May 28th, 1810; which, being joined to the Illyrian provinces, extended the immediate empire of the ruler to the boundaries of Hungary and Turkey. And what was necessary but a decree of the Senate to attach the whole of these countries to France?—The incorporation of Holland had its origin in the Continental System, the enforcement of which bore on no country harder than on Holland, and was no where more difficult on account of its geographical and mercantile relations. The contest began and the incorporation was menaced, Jan. 1810. It was then averted by King Louis by the cession and immediate incorporation of Dutch Brabant, and of a part of Zealand, April 26th.—Holland was nevertheless occupied by French troops and officers of the customs with various abuses, June. Louis abdicated and fled July 1st, carrying with him the affection of his people. (About this time, Lucian, the other brother, fled to England Aug. 10th; for, though refusing every crown, he had found no refuge from the tyranny of his brother in his peaceful habitation at Tusculum.) Holland, with East Friesland, which had been previously joined with it, was incorporated with France, as "the alluvions of French rivers," by a decree of the senate 13th Dec. 1810. The same blow reached Northern Germany. The decree of the 13th of Dec. united, according to a line arbitrarily drawn, half the kingdom of Westphalia, a part of the Grand Duchy of Berg, all Oldenburg and the three Hanseatic cities to France, which now bordered on the Baltic. His brother was deprived, unasked, of half of his kingdom; a prince of the Confederation of the Rhine, a relation of Alexander, was deprived of his whole territory. The Hanseatic cities met with the heaviest oppression. Where freedom was the greatest, its loss was the most painful.*

* Documens historiques sur le gouvernement de la Hollande par Louis Bonaparte, ex-roi de Hollande. III Vol. 1819. The most lively sketch of the public as well as private tyranny of his own brother.

52. This dominion of the seaboard from the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Elbe, maintained by a reinforced army of officers of the customs, might aggravate the difficulties of the interdicted trade, but could not entirely annihilate it. The great problem, whether a sole dominion were possible without the dominion of the ocean, became more and more improbable to the despot; "but this should be obtained by a fleet of a hundred ships of the line," and the giant works at Antwerp seemed to render this no empty threat, if seamen could only be manufactured like ships, or drilled like soldiers. Meanwhile not a French ship of war could show itself out of its harbor with impunity; the remaining island-colonies fell into the hands of the British; and all the preparations of the new sove-
1810. Sept. reign of Naples did not make it practicable, to cross even the narrow straits of Messina, and enforce his title as king of the Two Sicilies.

Cayenne was conquered Jan. 4th, 1809; the important Martinique Feb. 25th; Senegal June 10th; the city of St. Domingo, which the French had occupied, July 6th; Guadeloupe Feb. 3rd, 1810; St. Eustatia and St. Martin Feb. 21st. In the East Indies, the Ile of Bourbon was conquered July 7th, and the important Isle de France Dec. 2nd. The taking of Amboina and its dependencies in the Moluccas Feb. 17th, was only the prelude of the conquest of the—as yet unsubdued—Batavia and the island of Java with its dependencies Sept. 18th, 1810. The Danish islands, St. Thomas and St. Croix were taken Dec. 21st—25th 1807. And even in the remotest North, Iceland was occupied July 1809.

53. But the participation of the British was no longer limited to the ocean, after the peninsula of

the Pyrenees presented an arena for war on land; on which the Marlborough of the nineteenth century was finally to appear. Though the contest had never been remitted in this country, it did not acquire its full extent, embracing the whole peninsula, till after the peace of Vienna, when all the forces of France stood at the disposal of the emperor. The annexing of the Spanish and Portuguese to the British army gave them mutual strength, though Spanish jealousy and want of internal concord threw obstacles in the way, from vanquishing which, scarce less glory accrued to the British hero, than from vanquishing the enemy.

The supreme command of the British German army (of which the German Legion, as it was called, consisting of Hanoverians, constituted a part,) in Portugal was accepted by the Duke of Wellington (then still Sir Arthur Wellesley, third son of Colley, Lord Wellesley, Viscount Mornington) April 22nd, 1809. A Portuguese army was formed under General Beresford, likewise subordinate to Wellington, and several Spanish corps under Cuesta, etc. Against these were the French generals, Soult, Ney, Victor, Mortier, Gouvion St. Cyr, Augereau, etc., and afterwards Suchet, Massena, Marmont, Macdonald, Jourdan, etc. Among the numerous battles of the year 1809, is distinguished the battle of Talavera July 27th and 28th; Saragossa was besieged and heroically defended Nov. 1808—Febr. 1809 (renewing the stories of Numantia and Saguntum), as well as Girona June—Dec. In the year 1810, Napoleon exerted himself to the utmost; the troops of France, Italy, Poland and the Confederation of the Rhine inundated the peninsula. Andalusia was subdued by Victor, Mortier etc., and was followed by the siege of Cadiz—whither the Central Junta had fled, driven from the main land—conducted with incredible, but useless, efforts.—A regency was erected, consisting of

five members, in lieu of the Central Junta; the Cortes extraordinary were convened and soon opened their deliberations at Cadiz, claiming the supreme power, 24th of Sept. 1810. But at the same time, Wellington made a remarkable campaign in Portugal, where Massena, conquered without a battle, Mar. 1811, forfeited his military reputation. Tarragona was besieged and heroically defended in 1811 and Valencia in 1812 against Suchet.—Wellington pressed forward again into Spain 1812. Ciudad Rodrigo was conquered Jan. 19th, Badajoz Apr. 6th. He gained the battle of Salamanca July 22nd, and took the city. In consequence, the siege of Cadiz was raised, the south of Spain evacuated, and Joseph fled from the capital, which Wellington entered Aug. 12th. In the mean while, Wellington was appointed by the Cortes commander in chief of all the Spanish armies Sept. 25th. Though Madrid was again evacuated and occupied by the French (Nov.) in that same year, after the raising of the siege of Burgos and the retreat over the Duro (Oct.), yet the capture of the capital was not much more decisive than the capture of a village. For nothing more was gained, than the ground.

54. While the war on the peninsula employed the best forces of the French empire, the dark spirit of its monarch was meditating a new, greater and more formidable war. "Two suns cannot exist in the firmament," that ancient conqueror of the world once replied, when a division of dominion and empire was proposed to him. Would Napoleon have given another answer, had he been equally frank? Sole dominion cannot be divided between two. The project of a war with Russia proceeded, therefore, from the project of a universal monarchy; beyond this empire there was nothing more to fear and conquer; and in his estimation, who rated men as nothing, in the worst

case, but little to lose. It is strange, therefore, only that he was so blinded, as to select this moment, while the contest in Spain was undecided, were not precipitation the characteristic of the period. That the Port, Asia, and perhaps India itself, stood in the back ground, is rendered probable by the character of the man and many preliminary measures, whatever objections a considerate policy may make. But the execution was accelerated by the Continental System, which necessarily put him at variance with Russia, feeling as she did its consequences most severely in her financial concerns, as all her exports were interrupted. By her withdrawing from the system, a coldness arose, which soon broke out in words and actions; and where friendship demands submission, coldness leads to open feuds.

The new tariff, established by the Ukase of Dec. 31st, 1810, prohibiting or clogging the importation of French products and permitting that of colonial products under neutral flags, contained the tacit avowal, that Russia renounced the Continental System.—The seizure of Oldenburg about this time (see p. 285.) manifested, that Napoleon did not fear to affront Russia; the extension of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and the continued occupation of Dantzic, that he did not fear to disquiet her. Negotiations, of which little was known, were carried on in the course of the year 1811, till the elusive answers returned to the proposals of Prince Kurakin (Apr. 1812) compelled him to leave Paris. From this time war could not seem doubtful, though the mask was not yet wholly thrown off.

55. It was apparently certain, that the pending conflict must decide the destiny of Europe, comprehending as it did, this whole quarter of the

globe, and not, as in Spain, only the peninsula of the Pyrenees. What was the general situation of Europe at its commencement; what the relations of the single states? What were the relations of the Germans, the northern powers, and of the Port? The common resource of the weak, neutrality, could be of no benefit here, where the weak were forced to feel, that in such a conflict of the powerful, neutrality was certain ruin.

56. Previous policy had certainly prepared much for an attack on Russia. The road to its frontiers lay open; the chain of alliances and of garrisoned fortresses reached to them; useful allies were found on the boundaries of Russia in the Poles; and Russia itself, by renewing the contest with the Port, had become involved in a war, which would have taken off an important proportion of its forces, had it not been able to liberate itself at the right time, and yet with new aggrandizement; and France was thus deprived of co-operation from a quarter, from which it might have been highly dangerous at such a moment.

The renewal of the war with the Port soon after the congress of Erfurt took place in consequence of the agreements made there with respect to Moldavia and Walachia (see p. 270). Hostilities were commenced, after the short deliberations at Jassy had been dissolved April 1809, and those provinces were occupied. The Russians passed the Danube in August. But the chain of Haemus presented a stronger line of defence, than the river with its fortresses. The Grand Vizier was strongly encamped at Chiumla in Bulgaria; the campaign of 1810 was a bloody one; while the Servians, as the allies of the Russians, rekindled their insur-

rection in June. Silistria was conquered June 23rd. The Grand Vizier was attacked, without avail, July 5th and 6th. And an attack was made on the fortified Routschouk with one half of the army, while the Grand Vizier routed the other half, Aug. 4th. But he was conquered by the Russians, when hastening to the relief of Routschouk Sept. 19th.—In the following year, 1811, the Russians retreated across the Danube under Koutousoff, pursued by the Turks, but to their destruction. After one half of their army had passed to the left bank of the Danube, Sept. 20th, the remainder was surprised and annihilated by the Russians, Oct. 26th, the Grand Vizier himself escaping with difficulty. Negotiations were soon commenced at Bucharest, and the demands of Russia being moderate, peace was concluded May 28, 1812, France being unable to prevent it. Conditions: The Pruth to its confluence with the Danube, and this latter river to its mouth, should constitute the boundary of the two empires. (Russia remained therefore in possession of Bessarabia and the eastern part of Moldavia, the other and greater portion, together with Walachia, was restored to the Port.) 2. A full amnesty was granted to the insurgent Servians; the sovereignty of the Port over them was acknowledged, under the assurance of its generosity.

The plenipotentiaries at Bucharest were Italinsky and Gatib Effendi, &c.

57. The situation of Austria in the impending contest was less dangerous, because it lay out of its sphere, and it could determine for itself what auxiliary force it would furnish, because at such a juncture it had to be spared. So much the more desperate was the situation of Prussia. The grand route of the war lay through the midst of its provinces. Its utter ruin seemed inevitable; and at no time could the existence of the monarchy (it was dangerous to leave a doubtful friend in the

rear) seem more uncertain. Neutrality and resistance were certain ruin; what means of salvation were left, but an alliance? And even the permission to contract an alliance was not obtained without difficulty. The moments of the deepest debasement must precede those of the proudest exaltation! The obligations of all the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine towards their protector admitted of no doubt; they had no option. Switzerland herself had to supply her mediator with auxiliaries; and the assistance of the states of Italy (only the kingdoms of Italy and Naples, with Lucca, were remaining there) and of the Illyrian provinces was expected of course. It was ruinous for any one to remain behind with his contingents!

The alliance with Austria was concluded at Paris, March 14, 1812. 1. The alliance was defensive, viz. against Russia. 2. The force Austria was to furnish, amounted to 30,000 men. 3. France guarantied to Austria at all events, the possession of Gallicia, it may be in consideration of the exchange of the Illyrian provinces.—Conditions of the alliance with Prussia, Feb. 24th, 1812. 1. It was an alliance offensive and defensive against Russia; (clearly expressed in the secret articles). 2. Prussia was to furnish an auxiliary force of 20,000 men. And in another compact, the immense supplies for the French army were fixed. How much nations and countries can endure, before they entirely sink!

58. Different were the relations of the two northern powers. Denmark, after peace had been restored with Sweden (p. 282), though allied with France (p. 261) and in a constant war with England, was enabled, by its geographical situation, to

maintain a neutrality in the contest with Russia. Sweden, on the contrary, where, after the sudden death of the heir of the throne, a French prince, distinguished as a general and a man—previously hated by the emperor, but now doubly so, because it was done independently of him—was appointed successor by the States, and was adopted by the king, Sweden took advantage of this crisis with great adroitness not only to emancipate itself from French dependence, but also—without engaging, at present, actively in the war—to open a prospect to Norway, as a compensation for the loss of Finland.

1810. 28th May.

Marshal Bernadotte (Charles John), prince of Ponte Corvo, was chosen successor to the throne of Sweden, by the States, Aug. 21st, 1810. He arrived there Oct. 20th. At that time, after many censures for the non-enforcement of the Continental System, war was declared against England, Nov. 17th, on the peremptory demand of Napoleon. England, however, took no notice of it. But after repeated new demands and proposals had been declined 1811, Swedish Pomerania and Rugen were occupied Jan. 1812, and Sweden treated in reality, like an enemy. Sweden immediately made advances to Russia, and concluded a treaty at Petersburg, April 8th. 1. Russia promised to Sweden the union of Norway, in consideration of a compensation to Denmark, whether by negotiations or an auxiliary force of 30,000 men, and guarantied it for the peace. 2. Sweden promised in that case a diversion in the north of Germany, in connexion with a Russian detachment. This treaty was confirmed by the meeting of the Prince Royal with the emperor Alexander at Abo (Aug.). Peace was restored between Sweden and England by the treaty at Oerebro, 12th July, according to the ancient relations; and Swedish ports were again opened for British vessels.

The plenipotentiaries at Oerebro were Edw. Thornton, and Engstroem and Wetterstedt.

59. But notwithstanding all these circumstances, Russia stood alone in opposition to its foes.—Though the peace with England was restored, and even an alliance concluded with Spain, no other aid could be expected from these quarters, but an energetic diversion on the Peninsula. But in this very circumstance consists the glorious triumph of Russia; having sustained the great conflict alone —even without a subsidy from England!

Peace was concluded with England at Oerebro, July 18th, 1812. The plenipotentiaries were: Suchtelen and Edw. Thornton. The plenipotentiaries of the treaty with Spain (the Spanish regency in Cadiz in the name of Ferdinand VII.) at Weliky Luky, July 20th, 1812, were Bermudez and Romanzow. In both mutual amity and assistance were stipulated, without more exact definitions, with the acknowledgment of the Cortes.

60. In this way, a storm of nations arose (about twenty were united under the standard of the conqueror) unparalleled in history since the expeditions of Xerxes and Attila. What—asks reflecting policy—could have been its ultimate object? The destruction of the Russian Monarchy could hardly have been anticipated by the most sanguine hope; "to exclude it from Europe and send it back to Asia" was, since Peter the First, a mad idea. And had a speedy peace, perfecting the work of Tilsit, produced the entire restoration of Poland,—could it have been more than a truce? But in Poland itself, on which the plan for the future in reality depended, half measures only were,

very inconsistently, adopted, out of forbearance to Austria. The Poles could never effect a public proclamation of the complete restoration of their kingdom.

More than half a million soldiers, according to the most credible accounts, the flower of the nations of Europe, French, Italians, Neapolitans, Swiss, Dutch, Austrians, Hungarians, Bavarians, the inhabitants of Wurtemberg, of Baden, Saxons, Westphalians, besides the contingents of the smaller princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, Prussians, Poles, Illyrians, and even remains of the Portuguese and Mameluke corps, were torn from their homes, and driven into the face of death. But the Austrians and Prussians formed separate armies, the former on the extreme right wing in Volhynia, the latter on the left wing in Courland. Nothing but a Demaratus was wanting, though the new Xerxes would neither have requested, nor listened to, his counsels.—Not a less number of nations could Russia present, if she had but had time to summon them from the mountains and deserts of Asia. All her troops, divided into three armies, by no means equalled in number, those of the enemy.

61. The campaign was opened by the passage of the Niemen; and by mutual declarations of war. The war was to have been speedily terminated by penetrating into the heart of the empire against the ancient capital of the city; but the constant retiring of the Russians, without risking a great battle, and the declaration of Alexander in his manifesto, that he would never make peace, so long as the enemy remained within his empire, must have very much weakened this expectation. Fire and rapine, by friends and foes, marked the course of the invading army, and seemed to ren-

der return impossible. The march to Smolensk, where both wings and magazines were still protected by the flanks, was performed conformably to the rules of tactics; the rapid advance from Smolensk to the capital with uncovered wings has been blamed by tacticians, apart from the issue, as temerity.

On the same day that the French crossed the Niemen, the Russian manifesto was issued. Wilna was occupied on the 28th of June. The French advanced with many skirmishes by way of Witepsk to Smolensk, where the two Russian armies formed a junction Aug. 6th, while the Prussian auxiliaries besieged Riga, and the Austrian were manoeuvering in Volhynia.—Smolensk was stormed and destroyed Aug. 18th, after which Koutousoff was vested with the chief command. The Russians retreated to Borodino on the Moskwa. A great battle was fought at Borodino and Mosaisk 7th of Sept. The Russians retreated, but not in flight, through Moscow, to which the road now stood open. The solitary capital was entered Sept. 14th and 15th. In the Kremlin, the ancient residence of the Czars, the conqueror took up his head quarters, the limit of his expedition and the grave of his greatness.

62. Here the fatigued and debilitated army hoped to find repose and refreshment; when suddenly the flames burst out in a hundred places, and the vast capital resembled an ocean of fire. It fell a victim for the empire;—for such a drama demanded such a catastrophe; but in its pillars of fire, the first dawn of freedom shone over shackled Europe in the farthest East. Instead of a Capua, the army suddenly stood in a waste. "The campaign may now end," was the proposal of Napoleon; "the campaign is now beginning," was the

reply of Koutousoff. A speedy retreat, before the beginning of the winter's cold, might perhaps have saved the army, but the pride of the conqueror disdained this measure, till it was too late.

The grand conflagration of Moscow (four fifths of the city) raged 16th—19th Sept. having been prepared by Rostopschin the governor, at Koutousoff's order, who was possessed of unlimited authority. The general pillage proceeded among heaps of ashes and ruin. Napoleon proffered a truce, and offered to retreat to Wiasma, Oct. 5th. The answer of the Russians was purposely delayed, but was a decline.

63. No alternative but a retreat remained! A retreat over six hundred miles, with an army already enfeebled, encompassed, defeated and defeated again by enemies, increasing with each day, through deserts of his own creation, and through smoking ruins, without shelter and without magazines; and soon overtaken by the avenging destiny; when the cold, which could be endured neither by man nor beast, killed both by thousands. History refuses to delineate scenes, which imagination herself can scarcely grasp. Let it be sufficient to say, that of the hundreds of thousands, who had crossed the Niemen with him, scarcely so many thousands returned, and of these, how few were capable of bearing arms? The army of the tyrant, half dead, half captive, existed no longer; he himself, in a miserable sledge, and unknown, escaped death if not shame, to carry the first news of his defeat to his capital. "That there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous," was his consolation.

The French left the ruins of Moscow (the Kremlin having been blown up) on the 19th of Oct. 1812, after the cavalry had been surprised the day before by Bennigsen at Tarutina. They retreated, after a short circuit, by the road to Smolensk, pursued by the main army of Koutousoff and numberless swarms of Cossacks; while on the north, Wittgenstein was hastening from the Dwina, and on the south, Tchitchagoff from Moldavia, the peace with the Port (p. 291) not having been concluded in vain. Single corps d'armée were routed at Yaroslavez, Oct. 24th, and at Wiasma, Nov. 3rd. The tremendous cold weather commenced 6th Nov. As there was no place of rest at Smolensk, they were defeated at Krasnoy, 17th and 18th Nov. They were soon after reinforced by fresh forces under Victor and Oudinot; but after the battle at Borizoff Nov. 25th, and the passage over the Beresina at Studzianka (the most horrible of the scenes of horror) 26th—28th Nov. these too were overtaken by a similar fate. From there to Wilna 9th of Dec. the remainder of the army was wasted away in its flight, and on the 4th of Dec. the emperor himself, sending before him his twenty-ninth bulletin, fled from Smorghoni in his sledge to Paris by way of Warsaw and Dresden, five months before, the scene of his splendor, where he had received the homage of kings and princes.—Before the close of the year 1812, Russia was cleared of the enemy. Not a thousand men, capable of bearing arms, could the viceroy at first collect behind the Vistula; only a few reserves, the garrisons of the fortresses, and the separate armies of Prussia and Austria, the last, however, no longer belonging to Napoleon, were remaining; 240,000 bodies were buried in Russia.*

* Relation circonstanciée de la campagne de Russie par Eugéne Labaume, Capitaine, etc. Paris. 1814. This delineation by an eye witness and a Frenchman precludes every suspicion of exaggeration in the Russian accounts. The

64. The diffusion of these accounts over Europe excited at first a vague astonishment, rather than a loud expression of joy; it was saddened however, by the lamentations of parents, wives, and widows, for hardly a village was free from losses. That great revolutions of things were impending did not pass unobserved even by the careless. A sudden eruption was prevented by the fortresses and countries which were occupied, by the relations of the rulers, and the certainty, that Napoleon himself had escaped. Some powerful impulse was first needed. This was afforded by Russia; when Alexander, pursuing the enemy even beyond the boundaries of his empire, gave the signal for the emancipation of Europe. From this time, the storm of nations, which had gathered in the west against the east, was to be turned from the east against the west.

The emperor Alexander arrived in Wilna, Dec. 17th. The Russian army passed the frontier in five bands under the chief command of Koutousoff, accompanied by the emperor as far as Kalisch. It entered Prussia and exhorted the nation to war. Dantzic was besieged Jan. 1813. The Vistula was crossed and soon after the Oder in February. On the 4th of March the first Cossacks appeared in Berlin, which was occupied by Wittgenstein March 11th, the viceroy retreating with all his forces beyond the Elbe and Saale.

65. Thus opened that momentous, bloody year, in which the dominion of the one was to fall, and nations and princes were to regain their freedom. In Russia the war had become a pop- 1813.

fourth corps d'armée of 48,000 men, to which the author belonged, were at last able to take up its quarters—in one chamber.

ular war; whether it was to be such in Germany was yet to be decided. Prussia made it so. Tearing off his ignominious chains, the king summoned the nation to arms; and it obeyed his call. Mecklenburg, Hamburg followed the example; active assistance was promised by Sweden; and if the insurrection did not become general this side the Elbe, it was only force, that restrained it. On the other hand, Denmark still in war with England and inclining to France, collected its troops in Holstein.

The king left Berlin for Breslau, accompanied by Hardenberg, the chancellor of state, and others, on the 22d of Jan. 1813. From there was issued the edict of the 3rd of Feb. for the formation of volunteer corps of Yagers; on which all the youth hastened to arms. The whole nation was then summoned, March 17th, and the war was made completely national, by the regulations for the erection of the militia for defence, and for attack; the army was also addressed, of which the corps of French auxiliaries under Gen. York, refusing obedience to the Marshal Macdonald Dec. 30th, had joined the Russians. A well trained army of more than 100,000 men—thanks to the quiet preparations of a Scharnhorst and Gneisenau—suddenly stood in being; afterwards reinforced by a still stronger militia. The insurrection broke out in Hamburg, (never was enthusiasm greater), at Tettenborn's arrival March 24th, and the free constitution was restored; no less in Mecklenburg, whose princes were the first to renounce allegiance to the Confederation of the Rhine, and in Luneberg. The movements reached as far as the Rhine.

66. New leagues were the natural consequences of this incipient revolution of things. The one between Prussia and Russia was the first; it

was followed by the alliance between Sweden and England; and somewhat later, by the one between Prussia and England, as well as between Russia and England.

The conditions of the treaty between Russia and Prussia at Kalish, Feb. 28th, 1813, were 1. An alliance defensive and offensive, with an agreement as to the auxiliary armies of both parties. 2. Restoration of the Prussian monarchy according to its ancient statistical relations. 3. Invitations were proffered to Austria and England to join the league. The negotiators were Koutousoff and Hardenberg.—The conditions of the Convention between England and Sweden March 3rd: 1. Sweden promised 30,000 auxiliaries on the continent, under the command of the Crown Prince. 2. England promised a million of subsidies annually. 3. England promised not to oppose at least the union of Norway, but even to further it to the utmost, in case Denmark should refuse to join the Russian alliance. 4. A promise was given that Guadeloupe should be ceded (never performed). 5. Commercial concessions in favor of England, in Gothenburg and Stralsund. The negotiators were, Edw. Thornton and V. Wetterstedt.—The conditions of the alliance of England with Prussia at Reichenbach, June 15th: 1. Restoration of the Prussian monarchy according to the old relations. (By a separate compact, however, Hildesheim remained to Hanover.) 2. Regulations respecting subsidies.—The same conditions were contained in the contemporary treaty with Russia.

67. But a harder struggle was impending. What was the destruction of an army to him, who cared not for the loss of men, so long as there was a magazine to supply him with a new one? The first measures of the defeated emperor after his return evinced, that he would not, willingly, remit any part of his claims; and not one free voice was

raised either in the senate or in the legislative body. The readiness, with which the desired aid was given by the nation, has been accounted magnanimity. Not without justice, had the object been the defence of its own soil; but how can the enforcement of unjust pretensions merit this name? The perversion of moral sentiment is inseparable from times of tyranny; it is not superfluous to call their healthful action to mind.

By a decree of the Conservative Senate, Jan. 10th, 1813, 250,000 conscripts, more than Napoleon had demanded, were placed at the disposal of the emperor.—Wonderful dispensation of retributive justice! In the *Moniteur* of March 30th, 1813, he himself declared, that "even if the enemy stood on Montmatre, he would not give up a village of the empire." On the 30th of March, 1814, Montmatre was taken by assault, and—the empire given up.

68. The first months of the year were, therefore, the period of the most earnest preparations on both sides. Germany was again destined for the field of battle; the Elbe, from its mouth to the boundaries of Bohemia, constituted the line of division between the forces of the two belligerents; and on the other side, three Prussian fortresses, besides Dantzic, were in the hands of the French. While Russia and Prussia combined their armies, with which the monarchs themselves from this time always were in person, Sweden was impelled to active participation by British subsidies and the promise of Norway. Napoleon, however, not only demanded from the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine their contingents, but found an ally in Denmark, with whom the negotia-

tions respecting Norway had been broken off.—Painful was the situation of the towns and places that lay between the armies; the most cruel fate befel Hamburg, which, abandoned to the revenge of Napoleon, had to drain the cup of misery to the dregs. Saxony however was the principal theatre of the war; whose king could not separate his cause from that of Napoleon.

Dresden was occupied after the retreat of Marshal Davoust, by Russians and Prussians under Wittgenstein and Blucher, on the 27th March, 1813; they then pressed on to Leipzic, while the French army assembled in Franconia, Thuringia, and on the Elbe. The war of liberation was begun in Germany by the battle of Gross Goerschen or Lutzen, on the 2nd of May. The allies made a regular retreat, not flight over the Elbe. With a weaker force, they had withstood the stronger, in order to confront him anew in Lusatia. The battle of Bautzen, May 21st, under Barclay de Tolly (commander in chief after the death of Koutousoff, April 28th) and Blucher, was attended with equal success, and followed by a similar, and even glorious, retreat to Silesia. An armistice was mutually offered (both parties being exhausted and expecting reinforcements) and was signed at Poischwitz 4th June to 26th July; soon prolonged till the 10th of Aug.—In the mean while negotiations were renewed with Sweden, and conformably to its convention with England, March 3rd (see p. 301), the Crown Prince landed with Swedish troops in Pomerania 18th of May; at the same time a German auxiliary corps was formed under Walmoden, afterwards in British pay; but Lubeck and Hamburg were lost, being occupied by Davoust after the retreat of the Russians, May 30th. It was violently transformed into a fortress; devastations, a reign of terror and methodical pillaging ensued; and when nothing more was to be taken, the bank was at last attacked.—Fruitless

negotiations were begun by England and Sweden with Denmark; (April); Denmark made advances to France; and concluded an alliance at Dresden July 10th. Denmark promised to declare war immediatly against Russia, Prussia and Sweden.*

69. Never was the period of a two months' armistice of such importance! at the same time the period of negotiations and preparations. Not without reason was a peace feared. What other situation could it have produced, but that unhappy intermediate state, which, after repeated experiences, was feared more than war itself? The restriction of France to its ancient boundaries was not to be expected; a restoration of the ancient dynasty could not have been even mentioned. Very different occurrences were required, before the restoration of the political system of Europe could be thought of. But one great hope arose during the truce, and it was not deceptive; the accession of Austria. It was reserved for Austria to give the decision, when the decisive moment arrived.

During the truce Austria (suspending its former treaty of alliance with France, see p. 292) undertook the part of mediator, which it had previously attempted, though in vain, with the single nations. A congress was agreed on to be held at Prague (the emperor Francis going to Bohemia) on the 5th of July; by reason of the delay of the French plenipotentiaries not opened till the 28th of July. The sentiments of Napoleon were made manifest by the retardation

* Darstellung des Feldzugs der Verbündeten gegen Napoleon im Jahr 1813 und 1814 in zwei Theilen. 1817.

Der Krieg in Deutschland und Frankreich in den Jahren 1813 and 1814 von V. Plotho. 3 Theile. Berlin. 1817.— Both trust-worthy histories of the war.

of the French answer till the 6th of Aug.; and still more by the affronting tenor of the answer itself. It could not escape him, that even the allies, already secure of Austria, thought no more of peace. After a useless exchange of notes, the congress was declared to be dissolved by the allies Aug. 11th, and on the following day, Aug. 12th, Austria declared war against France.

The plenipotentiaries at Prague, were: Prince Metternich as mediator; von Amstett and v. Humbold on the part of the allies; de Caulaincourt and de Narbonne on the part of France.

70. The issue of the negotiations led again to new alliances. The ties with Austria as well as with Sweden and England, had to be drawn in the closest manner. A conflict was impending, where existence was at stake; and the day of decision could not be distant. But those ties were not only to be contracted by policy, they were consolidated by the personal friendship of the monarchs. From henceforth, alike inseparable from one another, and their armies, they shared every toil and every danger, every care and every hope, as they afterwards shared the gratitude of the nations and the glory of the victory. The armies too were amalgamated with each other; there was no longer any Russian, Prussian or Austrian army; all were united as one; and officers from all commanded all; the honor of the supreme command being conferred on Austria. When the highest interests were at stake, all petty passions were hushed; and if history consecrates beside the names of the monarchs, the names of a Schwarzenberg, a Blucher, Barclay de Tolly and others, it

should not forget to add, that their concord made them no less formidable to the enemy than their arms. It can exhibit no similar example!

During the armistice Austria had already concerted, July 27th, a preliminary alliance with Russia and Prussia (the more stable the less it was formal), which went into operation of itself with the declaration of war, and was afterwards concluded in threefold form at Toplitz, on the 9th of Sept. 1813. 1. Firm union, and a guarantee of their states. 2. Mutual aid with at least 60,000 men, and in case of necessity with more, for restoring and maintaining peace in Europe. 3. None other but common peace or armistice. In the secret articles, as far as they have been divulged, the re-establishment of the Prussian and Austrian monarchies, as much as possible on the footing of 1805, was confirmed. The negotiators at Toplitz were: the counts Metternich, Nesselrode, and von Hardenberg.—England concluded treaties for subsidies at Reichenbach with Russia and Prussia 14th and 15th June, (see p. 301.) Besides subsidies it gave its guarantee for paper money to the amount of five millions pounds sterling (under the name of federative money); England also signed at Toplitz a treaty of alliance with Austria Oct. 3rd, stipulating mutual aid with all their forces. The negotiators were Count Metternich and Lord Aberdeen. The compact with Sweden, see p. 301.

71. Thus the greater part of the east and west of Europe stood in opposition; Austria, Russia, Sweden and Great Britain, on the one side—France, Italy, the Confederation of the Rhine (mostly forced) and Denmark on the other; while the contest was still waged in Spain. The war became more and more a popular war; and the great exertions of both parties called forth masses of soldiers, such as Europe had never seen in the times of standing armies.

The forces of the allies were divided into the Grand (Bohemian) Army, under the commander in chief, P. Schwarzenberg; the Silesian under Blucher; the northern under the Crown Prince of Sweden (who had recalled from America his banished friend Moreau;) the Austrian corps in Italy under Hiller, as well as those on the boundaries of Bavaria; the Russian and Austrian reserves in Poland and Austria, besides the corps employed in the siege of Dantzic and of the fortresses of the Oder. The whole was estimated at 7—800,000 men; but with the Spanish and Portuguese armies, with the British on the peninsula, could not have amounted to much less than a million. Though the forces of Napoleon in Germany, divided into fifteen corps, and a corps d'armée in Italy were perhaps but half as numerous (to the 350,000 men already granted, by the decree of the Senate of the 3rd of April, 180,000 men were added, after Prussia had declared war, besides 10,000 guards of honor, the flower of the more opulent families,) it was on the other hand, more concentrated; and all the fortresses to the Oder, and Dantzic were his; but Dresden was the principal place of arms.

72. The same country, which had possessed so often the dearly purchased fame, of being Germany's classic ground and soil, was to be so in this instance. From the plains of Saxony (its inhabitants were German, though under French arms) the decision was to proceed; but how much had to precede that moment? Of such a series of battles, before the great decisive battle, in so brief a period, history cannot display the parallel. And from the disaster at the surprise of Dresden, destiny had willed that success should spring.

Dresden was suddenly attacked (in accordance with Moreau's plan?) with the Grand Army, while Napoleon was allured into Lusatia; but the attack failed on account of the

delays and his speedy return, Aug. 26th and 27th, 1813. It cost Moreau his life! But on the retreat to Bohemia, Vandamme, who had wished to cut him off, was defeated and taken prisoner with his corps, by Kleist in the battle at Culm and the village of Nollen, on the 29th and 30th of August. And in Silesia, the hero of the Germans, the old man with the spirit of a youth, had begun his career of victory, in which he now proceeded onwards, always rapidly and yet deliberately onwards, from Katzbach to the Seine. Blucher defeated Macdonald on the Katzbach, Aug. 26th, with almost the total annihilation of his army. And in the North also, where the conquest of Berlin was to afford the most delightful revenge, fortune was no less kind. Oudinot was defeated at Gross-Beeren by the Crown Prince, Aug. 23rd, and when that favorite plan was on the point of being executed, Ney was routed and his army dispersed in the battle at Dennewitz, 6th of Sept. by Bulow and the Crown Prince. On the Lower Elbe also, Walmoden was victorious over Pecheux in the skirmish at the Gohrde on the 16th of Sept. None but an extensive history of the war can mention the numberless small battles, that occurred every day, as the ever increasing masses of troops pressed upon each other.

73. The allies thus drew this semicircle closer and closer round the emperor. It was vainly attempted to penetrate to Berlin; in vain did he himself attempt to reach Bohemia. Whenever he was desirous of giving battle, the foe avoided him; whenever he wished not to fight, he found the enemy. Even in his rear, the leaders of the light troops swarmed around; the boldest and most alert of them with his band of Cossacks chased the king of Westphalia from his throne, and declared his kingdom dissolved. It was at last impossible for the French to remain in Dresden, un-

less they wished to perish by starvation. Napoleon therefore evacuated it, to meet his fate at Leipzic.

Cassel was taken on the 30th of Sept. 1813, by Czernischeff, and by a proclamation, the kingdom of Westphalia was dissolved, Oct. 1st. Even after the short return of the king, the tottering throne could no longer stand, and it was soon wholly overthrown by the battle of Leipzic.—Napoleon started from Dresden, followed by the king of Saxony, for the country before Leipzic, where he arrived on the 7th of Oct., and seeking in vain the enemy escaping singly, received the remaining reinforcements on the 14th and 15th Oct., nine corps d'armée besides the cavalry, the whole, amounting, according to exact rolls, to rather more than 170,000 men. His subordinate commanders were the king of Naples, the marshals Berthier, Ney, Mortier, Victor Marmont, Macdonald, Augerau, Poniatowsky, and the generals Bertrand, Lauriston, Regnier and Souham, as well as the officers of the cavalry, Latour-Maubourg, Sebastiani, Arrighi, Kellerman, and Milhaud. Dresden remained occupied by the marshal Gouvion St. Cyr.

74. The decisive battle of three days' duration on the plains of Leipzic unriveted the fetters of Germany, and dashed to the ground the already rocking edifice of Bonaparte's universal dominion; its ruins only still rose in the occupied fortresses of Hamburg, Magdeburg, etc. If the mass of combatants—almost half a million warriors met on the field—makes it the first battle of modern history, its consequences do so no less. A fraction only of the army attained the Rhine, after a flight similar to that from Moscow, and most of those were infected with a contagion, which swept them away by thousands.

The battle of Leipzic occupied the 16th, 18th and 19th of Oct. 1813. On the 16th, an indecisive battle of the Grand Army and the cavalry was fought at Wachau; but Blucher was victorious at Moeckern. The 17th was a truce, but about evening the four armies of the allies formed a junction; the Grand Army, having been joined by the northern army, to which the Silesian was united, after Blucher's memorable march; and the army of Russian reserves hastening up from Dresden under Bennigsen. These were disposed in a wide semicircle 300,000 men strong. The history of wars has no second example of such meeting. On the 18th, there was a general attack, and after nine hours of fighting, the battle was decided. In the night, the French retreated to before the gates of Leipzic, and the Saxon corps passed through. On the 19th, Leipzic was taken by assault, the king of Saxony made prisoner, the emperor fled with his routed army by way of Erfurt and Fulda to the Rhine, pursued by Blucher; he was attacked on the way at Hanau by the Bavarian-Austrian army under Wrede, Oct. 30th. On the 2nd of Nov. he brought back to Mayence some 70,000 men; to fill the hospitals.

75. The victory at Leipzic made the German war in the fullest sense a popular war. The princes, and with them the nations (according to German usage), arose and threw off the chains of the Confederation of the Rhine. Even before the victory, Bavaria gave the signal; Wirtemberg, Baden, the rest followed. Every one that could bear arms, seized them; the plough and the workshops were abandoned; the lecture rooms and the counting houses were deserted; even young females, dissembling their sex, hastened in arms to the ranks of the combatants; while matrons, undismayed at contagion or death, nursed the sick and wounded.

Hermann's spirit seemed awakened, and the day of suffering for Germany, was the day of its renown. Long will their memory live, an example to future generations, in the history of the German nation.

Bavaria seceded from the Confederation of the Rhine and signed an alliance with Austria at Ried on the 8th of Oct. It first declared war against France Oct. 14th, and united its army to the Austrian under Wrede. The army made a rapid march on the Maine, to meet the fugitive French army; and the battle of Hanau was fought Oct. 30th and 31st.—Wurtemberg and Hesse Darmstadt joined the great alliance Nov. 2nd, and Baden Nov. 5th. The other German princes in the course of the same month; in part on conditions, relating to the future regulations in Germany. In the electorate of Hesse, in Hanover, Oldenberg and Brunswick, the legitimate governments were re-instated after the flight of the king of Westphalia. Bremen was liberated Oct. 14th, and Frankfurt Nov. 1st. Dresden Nov. 11th, Stettin Nov. 21st, Zamosk Nov. 22nd, Modlin Nov. 25th, Dantzic Nov. 30th, Lubeck Dec. 5th, Torgau Dec. 26th, fell in the same year, and the half destroyed Wittenberg Jan. 23rd. Custrin did not fall till March 7th, and Glogall 10th of April, 1814. But Hamburgh's heaviest sufferings now began, Davoust having retreated thither from Lanenberg; and Magdeburg, with the citadels of Wurzburg and Erfurt, were still occupied.

76. The insurrection spread also over Holland. Scarcely did the armies of the allies approach, before it broke out in Amsterdam; and the voice of the nation, mindful of its ancient glory, also recalled its ancient dynasty of princes. Instead of the former defective constitution, the foundation was laid of a constitutional monarchy. Under the name of a sovereign prince of the Netherlands,

William of Orange was recognized as monarch.—Thus fell one part of the edifice of universal monarchy, because it was not built on the will of the people.

The insurrection broke out in Amsterdam Nov. 15th, 1813, and after the flight of the French authorities, a board of government was erected, at whose invitation, the Prince of Orange returned from England Dec. 1st. In the mean while a part of the northern army advanced under Bulow in Dec. The fortresses Breda, Herzogenbusch, etc. were taken. Before the end of the year Holland was emancipated, with the exception of some forts; and the road to Belgium stood open.*

77. No less speedily did the fruits of the victory ripen for Sweden. The declaration of war of Denmark (see p. 304) facilitated the execution of the plan for the conquest of Norway, which had been long prepared by treaties (p. 293,301). It was not conquered in Norway itself, but in Holstein, which the Crown Prince, separating from the other allies, invaded with the greater part of the northern army. A short campaign was sufficient to procure its cession, in consideration of Swedish Pomerania, from Denmark, almost unarmed and deserted by its ally.

The Crown Prince invaded Holstein, while Davoust was blocked up in Hamburg, supported by Russians, etc. After the battle at Sehestedt, against Walmoden on the 10th Dec. 1813, the Danes retreated to Rendsburg.—A truce was agreed upon Dec. 15th, and after some negotiations, peace at Kiel, 14th Jan. 1814. 1. Denmark renounced the possession of all Norway to the Russian boundary. 2. Sweden

* H. Bosscha Geschiedenis der Staaten-Omventeling in Nederland in 1813. Amsterdam. 1814.

assured to Norway the possession of all its immunities and rights. 3. Sweden ceded to Denmark Pomerania with the island of Rugen, and promised its interference for further indemnification. But the renunciation of Denmark did not imply the consent of Norway, which needed farther exertions (see below).—Denmark made peace at the same time with England. 1. The return of all conquests with the exception of the island of Heligoland. 2. England also promised its interference.—Peace was concluded with Russia at Hanover Feb. 8th, 1814, and with Prussia at Paris June 2nd. The old relations were restored, and interference promised for the same purpose.

78. The course of things was quite different in Italy and Illyria. The Illyrian provinces were wholly emancipated after the retreat of the viceroy prince Eugene, and half of Lombardy, and Italian Tyrol were occupied. But though Eugene, as his relations demanded, remained faithful to his adopted father, Napoleon's brother-in-law, on the contrary, Murat of Naples, by acceding or attempting to accede to the allies, experienced, that in such revolutions an ambiguous conduct leads to the most certain ruin.

In the Illyrian provinces, the conflict was waged between prince Eugene and Hiller (in whose place Bellegarde was afterwards substituted) with varying success, in August and September of 1813. But after the cecession of Bavaria the first mentioned retreated across the Adige to the Mincio, Nov. and Dec., and several successful skirmishes occurred Feb. and March 1814. Under the most perplexing relations, till the conclusion of the armistice with Austria April 16th, 1814, and his resignation of the command April 17th, Prince Eugene suffered neither in his honor nor his military reputation. He carried away with him the testi-

mony of the respect of Italy.—Murat opened negotiations with Austria, and an alliance was signed at Naples 11th of Jan. (with England he was only able to make a truce Feb. 3rd,) after which, without declaring his sentiments, he occupied Rome and Florence. While it was seen, that his sole wish was to gain time, he lost the confidence of all.

79. But on the peninsula of the Pyrenees also, the power of the French, scarcely founded and always tottering, was entirely annihilated in this same year. While Germany was girding itself during the armistice for the decisive contest, in Spain the battle of Vittoria decided for ever; and before the end of the year, the victorious army was standing on the soil of France. Napoleon himself, relinquishing all hope, concluded a treaty with Ferdinand, by which he acknowledged him as king of Spain.

The war in Spain became more and more a popular war, and was carried on not merely with regular troops, but also by bands of *guerillas*, formidable because they were omnipresent.—The French power was weakened by the recal of Soult to Germany, with many troops, Feb. 1813, who was followed by Jourdan under King Joseph, while Suchet still maintained himself in Valencia.—Wellington left Portugal with a British-Spanish-Portuguese army, and marched against Jourdan on the Ebro. In the battle at Vittoria June 21st, the French army was totally defeated and cut off with the loss of all its artillery.—The army fled to Pampelona and King Joseph to France.—Pampelona was besieged by the Spanish and surrendered Oct. 31st. Meanwhile Soult was sent back with reinforcements July 23rd.; he was defeated on the Pyrenees 28th and 29th of July, while attempting to raise the siege of Pampelona. He retreated to France behind the Bidassoa; while Saragossa was lost July

30th and St. Sebastian Aug. 30th.—Suchet retreated from Valencia to Barcelona in July, after the investment and destruction of Tortona on the 19th Aug. After the surrender of Pampelona, Wellington advanced, and passed the boundary river Bidassoa, while Soult, vanquished anew 10th Nov. retired before Bayonne. In the whole peninsula at the end of 1813, the French were masters of Barcelona alone with the forts Figueras and Rosas. Meanwhile a treaty with Ferdinand was signed at Valencay Dec. 8th, and himself and brothers were released from their imprisonment. The cortes refused to give the required ratification to the treaty, "because Ferdinand had not been free, and no peace could be concluded without England."

80. While the universal sovereignty in Europe was thus overthrown in the East and West, France itself alone remained. The victorious armies followed as far as the Rhine, attended by the monarchs, and spread along the principal river of Germany from the boundaries of Switzerland to its outlet. If they needed repose, the cabinets also needed deliberation. Rarely have such victories been succeeded by such moderation. Happily for Europe the lesson was lost on Napoleon. The phantom of universal sovereignty had been too nearly realized, for him to acknowledge it to have been a mere phantom.

The allies declared at Frankfurt, Dec. 1st, 1813, that "They contended, not against France, but against the preponderance, which Napoleon exercised without the boundaries of his empire. They offered the emperor peace, under the condition of the independence of the French empire, as well as of the other states of Europe. They wished to see France great, strong and happy; because its power was one of the corner stones of the social system. They allowed

France a territory, greater than she had ever possessed under the kings. But they too wished to be happy and quiet. They desired a state of peace, which, by a just balance and distribution of power, should protect the nations from the misery they had experienced for twenty years. They declared that they would not lay aside their arms, till this object was attained."—Could any thing be said more noble and liberal?—The Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees were offered for boundaries, as the basis of the peace in the negotiations, commenced by S. Aignan.—His delay fortunately showed, that this was not enough for him; and the negotiations were broken off.

81. It was thus allotted, that the issue should be decided in France itself. It appeared indeed rashness to penetrate into an unconquered country in the midst of winter, with more than thirty hostile fortresses in the rear. But the enemy was almost unprepared; the allies were strong enough to blockade all the fortresses; and while the allied armies, crossing the Rhine, pressed forward at the same time from Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands, Wellington stood on the Garonne. But in vain was it attempted to move to participation Switzerland,—by its situation necessarily an ally. When all were arming for liberty, the sons of Tell alone resolved on neutrality, and at last only permitted, which they could not prevent. It was not one of the glorious moments of their history. The conduct of the allies, however, to them, gave the first proof, that freedom was returning to the states of Europe.

The allied armies, about 400,000 men strong, crossed the Rhine, the Grand Army under Schwartzenberg, Wrede, etc. across the Upper Rhine and through Switzerland

(which withdrew its corps of observation) Dec. 21st—25th; the Silesian army under Blucher over the Middle Rhine Jan. 1st, 1814, and the army of the Netherlands under Bulow. These were soon followed by other battalions.—Bonaparte, though 300,000 men were granted him by the senate Nov. 15th (the legislative body, in which the bold voices of a Lainé and Rainouard which well merit to be named at the side of the generals, were at last heard, was immediately prorogued) could only oppose to them single corps. The allied armies formed a junction in Champagne Jan. 25th. After the victory of Blucher at Brienne (Rothiere) Feb. 1st, the Silesian army advanced against Paris along the Marne, the Grand Army, stretching towards Lyons where Augereau was attempting to collect an army, along the Seine.

82. But the dangers of the battle were not the greatest dangers to which the allies were exposed; of greater danger than they, were negotiations, when, in doubt whether their aim could be attained by arms, the allies opened a congress at Chatillon. What a peace would it have created? had it not been frustrated by the pride and duplicity of the emperor! As it was, there proceeded from it, instead of peace, a stronger union of the allies, confirmed by their close quadruple alliance at Chaumont. The hope, that the royal throne would again be established by the nation, was revived; a Bourbon showed himself in the allied and in Wellington's army; and since the dissolution of the congress, and not till then, the conviction became more firmly rooted, that only on such an event was the restoration of Europe possible.

A congress was held at Chatillon Feb. 3rd—March 15th, 1814, without, however, granting a truce. It still stood in Napoleon's power to preserve the throne and empire, had

he been satisfied with ancient France. But he required that the Rhine and Alps with all the points of attack should constitute the boundaries of France; that Italy should belong to his step-son, and his brothers be indemnified. How fortunate it was that he demanded so much; and nevertheless, an intercepted letter of his minister Maret afterwards showed that even this was only a deception.—During the congress a Quadruple Alliance for twenty years was signed at Chaumont March 1, 1814, between England, Russia, Austria and Prussia. 1. Every power furnished for continuing the war 150,000 men. 2. England promised five million pounds sterling of subsidies. 3. No separate negotiations should be held.—Provision was thus made not for the present only but the future.

The plenipotentiaries at Chatillon were: Caulincourt: on the side of the allies Lord Cathcart, Count Rasumowsky, Count Stadion, von Humboldt.—At Chaumont: Lord Castlereagh (for the first time, a British secretary of state for foreign affairs appeared in person on the continent), prince Metternich, von Hardenberg, von Nesselrode.

83. The war was meanwhile prosecuted in France with varying success. So far from decreasing, the forces of Napoleon increased; it was easy for him to concentrate them in single points and to acquire the advantage. The retreat of the Grand Army, was already commenced, when Blucher's good sword decided at Laon for the better. From this time the capital of France was the aim, and Napoleon himself, guided by his evil genius, facilitated the march. But a battle under its walls was necessary; for the first time its inhabitants heard the thunder of hostile artillery. It fell, and with the victorious armies received into its bosom the victorious monarchs and soon its rightful king.

After the separation of the two armies since the battle at Brienne, (p. 317) several skirmishes occurred along the Marne; and Blucher achieved his memorable retreat from Beauchamp and Montmirail 14th Feb. 1814, with his army already surrounded. The Grand Army advanced along the Seine to Fontainebleau, but after the Crown Prince of Wurtemberg was overpowered, after a heroic resistance at Montereau Feb. 18th, it retreated towards Troyes and as far as Bar-sur-Aube Feb. 25th, and even commenced fruitless negotiations for an armistice. The fate of Europe was again at stake. Blucher, meanwhile, after his retreat to Laon, was joined by the corps of the northern army and fought the glorious battle of Laon March 9th and 10th. Upon this, he pressed forward again and joined the Grand Army March 18th. After the battle at Bar-sur-Aube March 20th, Napoleon resolved to manoeuvre in their rear; and by doing so left the road open to the capital. After the defeat of Marmont and Mortier at la Fere Champenoise 25th of March they proceeded to Paris. A battle was fought before Paris; the Montmartre was stormed and the city capitulated March 30; the allies entered the city March 31st, while the shouts of victory resounded throughout Europe. Paris was taken one year, five months and eleven days from the march from Moscow, seven months and five days from the march from Katzbach.—Meanwhile Wellington advanced equally victoriously against Soult, on the Garonne; Bordeaux was occupied March 12th, where the royal standard was first planted, and after a useless shedding of blood (the couriers from Paris were kept back) to Toulouse. As Lyons had been previously occupied by the allies March 19th, the armies were possessed of a communication from the Moskwa to the Tagus.

84. With the capital France was conquered, because in France the capital is every thing; the wise moderation of the victors, flattering to the

feelings and vanity of the nation, accomplished the rest. The proclamation of the allies, "that they would treat no longer with Napoleon or any one of his family" (he had appointed his wife regent) was decisive, and without dictating indicated to the nation what was to be done. The senate, yesterday his slave, openly proposed the deposition of Bonaparte, and appointed a provisory government; the council of the department demanded the restoration of the royal throne in favor of Louis XVIII.

Alexander and the allies issued a declaration March 31st, 1814. Napoleon was declared deposed by the Senate April 1st. It was of great importance, that this should be performed by the authorities of the empire. A provisionary government of five members was named, at the head of which was Talleyrand.—The council for the department of the Seine first demanded the restoration of the Bourbons, April 2nd.

85. It was of much consequence to obtain the abdication from the emperor himself. Convinced of the impossibility of reconquering the capital, to the succor of which he had come too late, deserted more and more by his army and his marshals, he resolved to do so for himself and family, after many useless attempts in favor of his son. He descended from the falling throne; after a compact with the allies, in which magnanimity, triumphing over policy, prescribed the conditions.

Napoleon rapidly marched back towards Paris by way of Troyes as far as Fontainebleau, March 30th, 1814. After information of his deposition was received, Marmont with his corps deserted him April 3rd. Negotiations were com-

menced through Ney and Macdonald, and he executed an unconditional abdication on the part of himself and his heirs April 1st. This was followed by a treaty with the allies. 1. A repetition of the renunciation, on the part of himself and heirs forever, of all dominion and sovereignty over France, Italy, and all other countries. 2. He received the island of Elba with full sovereignty, and a pension of two and a half millions from the revenues of France. 3. He was allowed to maintain a body guard of 400 men. 4. His wife obtained, with full sovereignty and in perpetuity for her descendants, the duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla; both retained the imperial title. 5. There was granted moreover an income for the Bonaparte family, and for prince Eugene.—Bonaparte was immediately escorted to Elba, and arrived there on the 4th of May.

86. The throne of the Bourbons was immediately erected again on the ground thus levelled.—It was not the difference of the royal from the imperial constitution, but the difference of the rulers, who were at its head, their relations and above all their characters and sentiments, that gave Europe a pledge for the future. Even if the territory of the kingdom had been equally restricted, what would a peace with Napoleon have been but a truce, in which the nations would never have dared to lay aside their arms?

The count Artois returned April 12th, 1814, and was appointed *Lieutenant du royaume* by the king; and a convention was immediately made with the allies respecting the cessation of hostilities and the evacuation of the fortresses without the territory of ancient France (fulfilled at Mayence May 4th, Wesel May 8th, Magdeburg May 14th, Hamburg May 25th, etc. all in the same month.)—Louis XVIII. landed at Calais April 25th, after an absence of twenty-three years from his kingdom, (spent in Italy, Germany,

Russia, and finally England ;) and made his entrance into Paris May 4th, after rejecting the constitution, framed by the senate, but with the assurance of a free constitution.

87. To bestow peace on France and Europe was the first beneficent occupation of the king, reinstated in his rights. It must have been easy to negotiate with a monarch, in whom the other monarchs saw an equal; as, moreover, the transactions were hastened by their presence. If on the one hand, the phantom of universal monarchy was abandoned, on the other, the promise was most exactly fulfilled, that France should be left great and powerful. The return of France to its ancient boundaries was the basis of the treaty.

By the first peace of Paris, May 30th, 1814. 1. France preserved its integrity according to the boundaries as they existed Jan. 1st, 1792, with some additions on the eastern frontier and in Savoy, as well as by the confirmed possession of Avignon. 2. France recognized the independence of the state of the Netherlands, with its future aggrandizement, of all the German states which were to be united by a federal league, of Switzerland and the Italian states. 3. France recovered its colonies from England, even including Guadeloupe, to which Sweden (p. 301) laid claims, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucia, and Isle de France with its dependencies. It bound itself not to fortify its places in the East Indies, and to keep no troops, but what were necessary for the police. 4. Malta was retained by England. 5. French Guiana was restored by Portugal, according to an adjustment of boundaries. 6. In the harbors evacuated by France the vessels of war and naval stores were divided in such a manner that two thirds were assigned to France. 7. The allies magnanimously renounced all the sums, to which their governments might have claims from France for contracts, supplies and loans of money. 8. France promised

to pay the similar demands of private persons. 9. France promised England to abolish the slave trade within five years.

Negotiators: Talleyrand; on the part of the allies: Lord Castlereagh, Rasumowsky, Metternich, von Hardenberg.

88. The same month, that restored to France her king, beheld three other princes, who had been driven from their thrones, ascend them again.—Pius VII. returned to Rome, Ferdinand VII. to Madrid, and Victor Emanuel to Turin. In vain had Napoleon tried to terrify Pius VII. by threats, causing him to be dragged as a prisoner to Fontainebleau; in vain had he tried to deceive the world by a fictitious Concordat. The return of the Pope restored quiet to his state. It was otherwise in Spain, where there began, after the rejection of the almost republican constitution, drawn up by the Cortes, an outrageous contest of absolute power against freedom, the results of which hardly left a hope of a happy issue.

The imprisoned Pope resided at Fontainebleau 19th of June 1812—Jan. 1813. A concordat, the principal features of which Pius VII. had previously and conditionally accepted, was promulgated as already concluded Jan. 23rd, 1813 (after Bonaparte's return from Moscow), against which Pius immediately protested. He was carried back to Savona Jan. 24th, and afterwards given up to the Austrians, March 31st.—He returned to Rome and made a solemn entrance May 24th, 1814.—Ferdinand VII. entered Madrid May 14th; and Victor Emanuel, Turin, about the same time.

89. While the foundation of the subverted political system of Europe was thus every where laid anew, it could escape no one how much was wanting to its entire restoration. The monarchs, uni-

ted in peace as in war, resolved to do this in common at a congress in the imperial city of Germany, while they contracted, during the preparations, the bands of personal amity with the British royal family and the Prince Regent of England. After the storms of the times, politics united itself more closely with humanity.

The emperor Alexander and king Frederic William, accompanied by their victorious generals Blucher, Platow, etc. visited London 7th—22d June, 1814, and were enthusiastically received by the nation.

90. Congress at Vienna. The history of the political system of Europe can present no congress—the congress of Westphalia not excepted—where so many and so great interests, those of all Europe, were to be adjusted; for, though several times shaken, they were never so utterly overthrown as at present. What result, or at any rate what continuance of the congress could have been expected? Happily there were two beneficial circumstances. First: that there already existed a general coincidence of opinion on most of the principal points. No one doubted the necessity of maintaining the French monarchy in its existing integrity and of restoring the Austrian and Russian monarchies according to the former statistical relations (which were already decided beforehand by means of treaties see p. 306). The second was the presence, the characters and the mutual friendship of the monarchs. The former accelerated, the latter facilitated every transaction. But nevertheless there could be no want of stumbling blocks. The greatest consisted in the ar-

rangements respecting Poland and Saxony, and also in the political and territorial relations of Germany. Not without cause were fears repeatedly entertained that the deliberations would be interrupted. But yet they came to their close. This was furthered by an extraordinary, an unexpected occurrence, which hushed the voice of individual interest. The man of destiny was again to make his appearance, to confirm that which he wished to destroy.

The congress of Vienna was formally opened on the 1st of Nov. 1814, after preliminary negotiations. It sat till the 25th of May, 1815. The results, see below in the last section.

There were present in person, the emperors of Austria and Russia; the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg; the elector of Hesse; the grand duke of Baden; the dukes of Saxe Weimar, of Brunswick, of Nassau, of Cobourg, and several other princes.—The principal ambassadors and ministers were: from the Pope, Cardinal Gonsalvi; from Austria, Prince Metternich; from Russia, Prince Rasumowsky, Counts Stakelberg and Nesselrode; from Great Britain, Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington; from Prussia, Prince Hardenberg and von Humbold; from France, Talleyrand and Dalberg; from Spain, Don Labrador; from Portugal, Count Palmella and Count Lobo da Silveyra; from the Netherlands and Nassau, Spoen and Gagern; from Denmark, Count Bernstorf; from Sweden, Count Löwenhielm; from Sardinia, Marquis of St. Marsan; from Bavaria, Baron Wrede, Count Rechberg; from Wurtemberg, Count Winzingerode; from Hanover, Count Münster, Count Hardenberg; from Saxony, Count Schulenburg, and others.

91. The return of Napoleon from Elba to France was followed by a momentary overthrow

of the yet unstable royal throne. How could it stand firm, when the nation as yet hardly knew its king, when the army, newly organized, swore fidelity with the mouth but not with the heart; and the eyes of both were still dazzled with the lustre of glory. But it was soon perceived, that the re-erected imperial throne was no less weak, and found its support, not in the nation, which merely suffered it, but in the army. What a prospect however, if things should come to such a pass, that a rebellious army should prescribe laws to the empire and to Europe!

Napoleon landed at Cannes March 1st, 1815, with about 1500 men, and marched with celerity to Paris, without any great achievements, because he was without resistance. The previous conspiracy does not seem to have been very extensive, because Napoleon could and of course did count on the assistance of the troops and their leaders on his appearance. He entered Paris March 30th; the king having withdrawn to Lille and afterwards to Ghent. But his old power was not revived with his old title; instead of ruling the parties as formerly, he seems to have been swayed by them; and the comedy of the Champ de Mai (June 1st) exhibited only the caricature of Charles the Great. So much the more energetic were his warlike preparations; for he was well aware, that all his proffers would not give him peace.

92. The news of Napoleon's return happily reached the congress while still in session. This rendered the most speedy and decisive measures possible, and they were adopted. By a special act the usurper was declared the enemy of the nations and to have forfeited the protection of the laws; and all the powers both great and small im-

mediately entered into a firm combination. The fortune of war might waver, but his final overthrow seemed inevitable; for the princes were now sure of their nations.

A declaration against Napoleon was signed 13th of March 1815, by Austria, Prussia, England and Russia, as well as by France, Spain, Portugal and Sweden. And soon after an alliance was concluded between the four leading powers at Vienna, 25th of March. 1. Repetition of the alliance at Chaumont (see p. 318) for the maintenance of the tranquillity and independence of Europe against Napoleon Bonaparte and his followers. 2. The contingent of each power was fixed at 180,000 men. 3. All the powers of Europe were invited to join the alliance.—All of them with the exception of Sweden, (which was still occupied with Norway,) and all the states of Germany with Switzerland acceeded in order; Spain conditionally; and a subsidiary treaty was concluded with Great Britain. The sum of all the contingents to be furnished amounted to 1,057,400 men.

93. Again therefore all Europe was plunged in commotion by a single man; for the danger was great, though it was not deemed such; and it was easy to prophecy that the Usurper would not wait for the union of the hostile forces. A British-German and a Prussian army were assembled with the utmost speed under Wellington and Blucher. He also was equally active; but the great day at Waterloo threw him at once to the dust and saved Europe.

Napoleon pressed forward across the boundaries with 170,000 men, June 15th, 1815. A battle was fought at Ligny against Blucher June 16th; who after a bold resistance (the grey hero himself was wounded by the kick of a horse) was forced back to Wavre. On the same day Ney

risked an action with the duke of Brunswick at Quatre Bras, who fell the victim of his inherited valor. Meanwhile the army of Wellington, consisting of British, Hanoverians, Dutch, and the soldiers of Brunswick and Nassau, was drawn up at Waterloo and Belle Alliance. Napoleon commenced the attack at noon of the 18th of June with a great superiority. After a formidable conflict, the victory was fluctuating at evening, when Blucher appeared with his auxiliaries at the right crisis. This was decisive. The French army was routed, fled and, pursued by Gneisenau, was totally dispersed. Napoleon, abandoning every thing, escaped with difficulty to Paris to bring the news of his defeat. His star had set.

94. The second taking of Paris was the consequence of that victory, without bloodshed; but whether it would result in the submission of France, might seem uncertain. The remains of the defeated army retreated, conformably to the convention, beyond the Loire; the commanders of most of the fortresses refused obedience; without a dissolution of the army, no security was to be anticipated. The first and most important step was, to impel its chief after his return to the capital to execute a new abdication. In order not to be deposed, he abdicated at the request of the Chambers convened by him; and the disbanding of the army by its generals was happily accomplished. Meanwhile he retreated to Rochefort in order to escape to America; and, that being impossible, surrendered to the English.

Napoleon's abdication in favor of his son June 22nd, was accepted by the Chambers, so called, on the 23rd. How much single advisers, especially a Fouché (the head of the provisory board of government) may have contributed to-

wards it, (the former minister of Police and his former master were unquestionably the best acquainted with each other) is reserved for the future to divulge. He set out for Rochefort 28th June ; and after useless attempts to escape, surrendered to Admiral Hotham and the British ship of the line Bellerophon 15th of July, in which he was transported to England, and from there, being transferred to the Northumberland without landing, according to the resolution adopted in common by the allied powers July 31st, to the island of St. Helena Aug. 8th, where he landed Oct. 16th, and was detained as a prisoner of war till his death, every attempt to liberate him having been declared a capital crime by Parliament, 11th of April 1816. Quem cursum dederat Fortuna peregit!

95. The king returned to his capital after an absence of one hundred days. But what exertions and what experiences had not the allies made in these hundred days. Should they, at their own expense, reestablish the royal throne of France, to see it perhaps again overthrown? A remuneration for what had been spent, and security for the future they owed not only to themselves but also to their subjects, who had suffered already for their former magnanimity. New negotiations had therefore to be opened with the restored regal government; and it was agreed that remuneration should be obtained by a sum of money, security by an adjustment of boundaries with the cession of four fortified places, and a temporary occupation of the frontiers at the cost of France. July 9th.

By the second compact of Paris, concluded after long conferences, Nov. 20th, 1815. 1. An adjustment of the boundaries was made with the cession of the four fortresses Philippeville, Marienburg, Saarlouis and Landau, with their

environs as far as the Lauter; and in Italy, of the part of Savoy, that had remained to France (see p. 322). 2. The fortress Huningen was demolished. 3. The northern and eastern frontier of France with eighteen fortresses was to be occupied at the cost of France, for at least three years by an army of the allies of 150,000 men; after the expiration of that time, it was to be seen whether circumstances would admit of their removal. 4. As a remuneration, France agreed to pay at fixed times the sum of 700 millions of francs (not including the claims of private individuals on France). Both this, and the rest of the above conditions were fixed by separate conventions.—The illgotten monuments of art, with which Paris was embellished, the sacred property of the nations, were with strict justice taken back without any particular convention. Not without murmurs had they been permitted to remain, at the first taking of Paris.

The plenipotentiaries at this treaty were: from France, Richelieu; from Austria, Metternich and Wessenberg; from England, Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington; from Russia, Prince Rasumowsky and Count Capo d' Istria; from Prussia, Prince Hardenberg and von Humboldt.

96. In Napoleon's fall, his brother-in-law Murat of Naples, reaping the reward of his ambiguity, was involved. At the apparent progress of Bonaparte, Murat also declared for him; but Austria gave him no time to furnish assistance. After a campaign of less than two months he lost his kingdom, and wandering about like a fugitive, soon after lost his life as a criminal.

Since their restoration the Bourbon courts had declared against Murat, Dec. 1814. England also refused all connexion with him, Jan. 25th 1815. He was engaged in making preparations, before Napoleon's landing, and immediately after manifested his warlike intentions, by exhorting

the nations of Italy to vindicate their liberty March 30th. Austria declared war against him April 10th, and signed an alliance with Ferdinand of Sicily, April 29th. Actions took place on the Po with Bianchi and Nugent, but Murat was soon forced to retreat. After the battle at Tolentino May 2nd and 3rd, and on the Garigliano 16th May, General Carascosa capitulated on the 20th. Naples was conquered and Ferdinand restored. Murat escaped to France by way of Ischia. After Napoleon's defeat, he fled to Corsica; and on the descent at Pizzo in Calabria, he was taken prisoner and shot as a rebel, Oct. 13th.

97. The fate of the Scandivinian kingdoms was already fully developed. Though after the peace of Kiel (see p. 312) Norway would not acquiesce in the cession by Denmark to Sweden, but on the contrary proclaimed its governor king, only a short and almost bloodless campaign of the Prince Royal of Sweden was necessary to make the peace effectual. The assurance made to Norway of freedom and political independence operated far more than arms; and Sweden and Norway were thus united like two kingdoms under the sceptre of the same monarch.

After the promulgation of the peace of Kiel of Jan. 14th 1814, great commotions arose in Norway. It was proclaimed independent by the governor prince Christian Frederic of Denmark, Febr. 19th. A diet *(Storthing)* was convoked at Eidswold April 10th, by which he was declared constitutional King May 17th. Useless attempts at a compromise were made by a commission of the allies (July), who insisted on submission; and it was blockaded by British ships. Hostilities commenced Aug. 4th; but after some unimportant skirmishes, and the surrender of the border fortresses, by which the road to Christiana was left open, a truce was agreed upon at Moss, Aug. 14th. Prince Christian Fred-

eric resigned Aug. 16th. The Storthing at Christiana declared, on the 20th of Oct. Norway to be united, as an independent kingdom, with the crown of Sweden; and Charles XIII. was proclaimed King of Norway 4th of Nov. 1814.

98. On an island rock, in the midst of the ocean, died, almost unnoticed, the man, whose name but a short space before, had filled the world. His plans were wrecked; from the thraldom, which he was preparing for the nations, there sprang liberty in more than one quarter of the globe. Unknown to himself, he was but the instrument of a higher power; for his objects were not its objects. Whatever judgment posterity may pass on him, universal history can view him only from this point.

Napoleon Bonaparte died on the island of St. Helena, May 5th, 1821.

SECOND SECTION.

History of Colonial Affairs, from 1804—1821.

1. The great convulsions and revolutions in Europe must in this period have exercised an influence more and more direct on the colonies, the less it was practicable to enforce on them the project of a universal monarchy. This could lead to nothing else than to their independence, as far as it was compatible with their nature and the British maritime dominion. A new order of things began in America; the flames of revolution communicated from the Old World to the New, and kindled

there no less a conflagration. From their nature and political relations the East Indies were proof against them; but here too, equally important alterations of another kind were prepared; and also for Africa. Even the fifth portion of the world, its continent and its islands, received more and more of European culture.

2. The United States of America underwent in this period no changes in their constitution. But their territory (by the purchase of Louisiana, see p. 187 and the acquisition of Florida) its population and revenues were doubled; and their boundary, both on the British and the Spanish side, was the Pacific. Colonization in the Western territory as well as in Louisiana, advanced with a rapidity beyond all expectation, and increased the number of allied states from seventeen to twenty four, several of the territories being received into the Union.

The two Floridas were acquired in consideration of the surrender of pecuniary demands, from Spain Oct. 24th 1820, ratified by the president March 22nd 1821. At the same time the boundaries on the side of Mexico were fixed at the rivers Sabine and Arkansas and from its sources on the parallel of 42° N. Lat. to the Pacific. And with England conformably to the treaty of Ghent (see below,) from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific on the parallel of 49° N. Lat.

Besides the District of Columbia, the territory of the capital Washington, the twenty four United States at present are: 1. Pennsylvania. 2. New York. 3. Maryland. 4. Delaware. 5. Rhode Island. 6. Connecticut. 7. Massachusetts. 8. New Jersey. 9. Vermont. 10. New Hampshire. 11. Maine. 12. Virginia. 13. North Carolina. 14. South Carolina. 15. Georgia. 16. Tennes-

see. 17. Kentucky. 18. Ohio. 19. Indiana. 20. Illinois. 21. Louisiana. 22. Mississippi (to the East of Louisiana). 23. Alabama. 24. Missouri. Florida was declared a territory as well as Michigan. West Florida from the Mississippi to the river Perdido was previously claimed as a part of Louisiana and occupied Oct. 20th, 1810.—The population was augmented from six to about ten millions, the public revenues from twelve to twenty four millions of dollars, without increase of taxes.

3. Though the constitution remained unaltered, party spirit was nevertheless excited, and there were moments when it threatened to become dangerous. The parties of the Democrats and Federalists, (the former the strongest in the southern and interior states, originally the favorers of the agricultural system, the latter, prevailing in the north, the advocates of the commercial system) found aliment in the French-British disputes and almost became, the former the French, the latter the English party. But the love of their common country and the attack of the British on the capital united both; and after the restoration of peace in Europe, these parties became to all appearance mere names.

4. A commercial state like America could not possibly avoid being involved in those contentions which made the war between France and England a commercial war. The collisions were necessarily most violent with the state, that had the mastery of the sea, and eventually led to a war, France artfully employing them, to increase her own influence.

The pre-existing causes of contention (see p. 186), still continued, and were aggravated by the increasing oppres-

sion of navigation and commerce. On that account the *Non Importation Act* was passed, against the importation of British Manufactures. Negotiations continued; but the differences were augmented, partly by single occurrences at sea, but principally by the British Orders in Council and the French Decrees of 1806 and 1807, (see p. 262) by which the trade of neutrals was in fact annihilated. In consequence, a prohibition was laid on their own navigation by the *Embargo Act*, Dec. 22nd, 1807, and by the *Non Intercourse Act* March 1st, 1809. All trade with England, and with France and its colonies was interdicted, together with the importation of the products of either, till those orders should be revoked. It was repeated with greater restrictions May 1st, 1810. This was followed, on the side of Napoleon, by a partial annulment of his decrees, with respect to America, April 28th, 1811. From that time America became more friendly to France, and more estranged from England, till the declaration of war against it June 18th, 1812; after a previous general Embargo on all the vessels then in the harbors of the United States, whether domestic or foreign, April 4th. The declaration of England, that it would recal its Orders in Council June 24th, came too late.

5. It could not be a war, like that raging in Europe. It was waged with moderate bodies of soldiers on the boundaries, especially of Canada, and with single ships. Though the young American navy gained a glorious distinction in this contest, the army did less; the capital itself became the spoils of the English, but New Orleans was defended with courage and success. The negotiations at Ghent led, in a happy hour, to the conclusion of a peace, which again disembarrassed England in the war, that broke out soon after in Europe.

The petty war on the frontiers and lakes of Canada, into which the savages were drawn, had an unsuccessful termin-

ation for America on the main land, but the English were, nevertheless, unable to penetrate far. The city of Washington was attacked and all the public buildings reduced to ashes (condemned in England itself) by General Ross, Aug. 24th 1814. But a fruitless attack on New Orleans was made by Gen. Packenham, who fell in the action; the city was gallantly defended by Gen. Jackson, Jan. 8th, 1815, the peace of Ghent having been signed a short time before, Dec. 24th 1814. Conditions: 1. A settlement of boundaries on the side of Canada to the remote Lake of the Woods and of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, to be afterwards adjusted by commissioners. 2. Restoration of all conquests. 3. Both parties bound themselves to do their utmost to abolish the slave trade.

The plenipotentiaries at Ghent were, on the part of England, Admiral Gambier, etc., on the part of America, Alb. Gallatin, J. Q. Adams, H. Clay, etc.

6. The greatest immediate advantage which America, now known in her strength and in her weakness, derived, notwithstanding the increase of the public debt, from the war, was a greater consolidation of the union, especially since the burning of Washington, which put an end to all ideas of separating the southern and northern provinces. The more indirect advantages were, the impulse, given by the previous prohibitions to her manufacturing industry, and the necessity it caused to be felt of a navy, to which the leading energies of the nation were afterwards directed, with the restriction, however, to what her actual security demanded. England itself had raised up a new rival! But did it not perhaps need another for the maintenance of its own greatness?

7. With the return of peace, the navigation and trade of the republic was diffused over every sea. Her flags were displayed in the two Indies, in China and in Europe; and in the Mediterranean, the piratical states had to tremble before her. Her territory now extends to the mouth of the Columbia on the Pacific; the whole immense regions of the Mississippi, with its tributary rivers, belong to her; the purchase of Louisiana, where a rich commercial city already rises in New Orleans, holds a place among the events, in which the world is interested; and the possession of the Floridas, which completes her territory, seems to promise her at some time the dominion of the West Indies. Meanwhile internal improvement advances; and the times are coming, when a man may travel with the mail from one ocean to the other.

The practical maritime right of the United States, in their treaties of commerce and regulations, is based on the strictest reciprocity. So in their act of navigation, March 1st, 1817, the prohibition "of the introduction of goods from a foreign harbor, except in ships of the United States, or such as belong to the subjects or citizens of the country, where the articles were produced or manufactured," does not bind the vessels of any foreign nation, which has not adopted or will not adopt any similar regulation. There is an especial act, of the same date, "that all British ships, coming from ports to which American ships are not admitted, (West Indies), shall not be admitted in an American port." By the treaty of commerce with England, July 3rd, 1815: 1. Reciprocity in respect to freedom of trade and duties. 2. The Americans have a free trade in all the British East India ports; but they shall not pursue any coasting trade, and

shall unload their East India cargoes in harbors of the United States.*

8. The fidelity of the British colonies of Canada and Nova Scotia was tried in the last war with America. Why should those colonies strive after independence, which are already possessed of a free constitution, which suffers no religious constraint, paid no taxes, and sees their colonization and trade become every year more flourishing? If their importance was doubled in the eyes of England, which in the times of embargoes, drew from them the necessary supplies of lumber and corn for itself and its West Indies, it has requited this by milder treatment than any other colony can boast of. The warnings of history were not in vain!

By the constitution of Lower and Upper Canada, as established by the act of Parliament 1791, the former has a governor general, the latter a governor, subordinate to the governor general only in military affairs. At the side of the governor is a council (Upper house), consisting of fifteen members in Lower Canada, and seven members in Upper Canada, appointed by the governor for life, and an assembly (Lower house), consisting of fifteen and sixteen members,

* A statistical view of the commerce of the United States of America; its connexion with agriculture and manufactures, and an account of the public debt, revenues and expenditures of the United States; accompanied with tables, illustrative of the principles and objects of the work, by Timothy Pitkin, a member of the house of representatives. Hartford. 1816.—The best and latest statistics of the United States.

Statistical annals of the United States of America, founded on official documents, by Adam Seybert. 1818. 4to. Statistical materials for the period 1789 to 1818, but rather crude.

chosen every four years, by the proprietors. The bills that have passed the council and assembly only need the signature of the governor, and become laws, unless the king expresses his disapprobation in two years. In 1788 the Parliament resigned the right of taxation, with the exception of the power of making commercial regulations; and the Test Act was here superseded by the Quebec Act, 1774, (see p. 92.)*

9. In a different mode, from North America, a new state arose in the Southern continent. The empire of Brazil—expressly declared such by its ruler—about equal in extent to European Russia, but far more richly endowed by nature, was a consequence of the fate of the mother country, (see p. 266). From this time, it was impossible again to make it a colony, even when the king returned to Europe; the natural result was the opening of the ports of Brazil to all neutral and friendly states, which soon began to ameliorate the social condition. But the attention of the government seemed to be turned much more to working mines and making conquests at the expense of Spain, than to colonization. The advancement of this was indeed a natural consequence of the freedom of trade; but we are not to expect such rapid progress as in the free United States. This could only flow from religious

1815. Dec.

1807.

1808. Mar.

* Letters from Canada, written during a residence there in the years 1806, 1807 and 1808; showing the present state of Canada, etc. by Hugh Gray. London. 1809. Very instructive, but not free from British prejudices.

A Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada, with Remarks on Upper Canada, by Joseph Bouchette. London. 1815. The leading work for the modern statistics of Canada, with an excellent Atlas.

and political freedom, both of which were very much restricted, notwithstanding some liberal regulations. Brazil possesses the character of a colony for plantations much more than of an agricultural colony, both in respect to its products and to the culture of the soil, performed almost wholly by negro slaves. The number of these is inferior indeed to the number of free inhabitants; they are Christians, are pretty well treated, have the numerous festivals as holidays, and have the privilege of purchasing their freedom. But they are, nevertheless, slaves. The abolition of the slave trade, and the gradual augmentation of the number of free laborers, must constitute the foundation of the prosperity of this state, which is favored by the circumstance, that no such strict gradations of rank subsist here among the white and colored inhabitants as in the Spanish colonies.

The Crown Prince married an archduchess in Oct. 1817. —The occupation of Monte Video (as a pledge for Olivenza, ceded in Europe, page 233) Jan. 19th, 1817, left it no longer doubtful, that it was the object of Brazil to extend itself to the Plata.

10. But notwithstanding the elevation of the colony into an empire, nothing was said of forming a constitution, which the circumstances as well as the voice of the people seemed so loudly to demand. The adoption of the new Portuguese constitution left the king, there as in the mother country, but the shadow of authority. Scarcely any other issue seemed to remain, except a severing of the weak ties, that bound the two countries.

An insurrection broke out among the soldiery in Para,

and afterwards in Bahia, Pernambuco and Rio Janeiro, Feb.—April, 1821, and the—as yet imperfect—Portuguese constitution was adopted; after which the king, with his court, sailed for Portugal April 26th; the Crown Prince and family being left behind as regents.*

11. For Spanish America also the political convulsions of the mother country introduced a new period, the period of the struggle for liberty and independence. It did not, however, by any means originate in the intention of an entire separation from the Spanish throne, but from resistance to the usurpation of Napoleon and his brother. The American insurgents were, therefore, no more rebels, than the Spaniards themselves. But they were as unwilling to be ruled by Spanish Juntas as by their viceroys and captains general, in whom they did not and could not confide. Like the Spanish they established Juntas (governments) of their own, during the imprisonment of their legitimate king. Meanwhile after the erection of the regency in the mother country and after its refusal to comply with their just demands, they would not recognize its authority, nor the authority of the

* For want of Portuguese sources, we can only mention the travels of a Coster and Mawe, the former for the northern and the latter for the southern provinces, and the travels of Prince Max. von Neuwied. More information respecting the interior is expected from the works of the Austrian and Bavarian scholars, sent out with the archduchess.

[The Crown Prince asserted the independence of Brazil, and gave a constitution, which was signed Dec. 11th, 1823, and was published March 25th, 1824. The independence of Brazil was publicly acknowledged by John, king of Portugal, in May, 1825; and in August of the same year his son Don Pedro was recognized by him as emperor.]

1810. Aug. 31. Cortes assembled by it; upon this they were declared rebels. They were thus forced to become, what they had not desired to become; and after the accession of Ferdinand VII. they had gone too far to retreat, even had more moderation and sincerity been evinced on the part of the throne and its officers than was done.

1814. Aug. 4. But they were immediately ordered to lay aside their arms, and a hostile treatment was exercised towards them by sending out Morillo. The contest continued with varying success in Caraccas, New Granada, Mexico, La Plata, Chili and Peru. But the year 1821, since the loss of Mexico and Lima and the victory of the insurgents in Venezuela, if it did not put a complete end to it, seem to have brought it near a termination; since hardly two feeble bodies of Spanish troops maintained themselves in single places.

Before the dethronement of the royal family, no traces of insurrection had appeared in the Spanish colonies (the attempts of Miranda in Caraccas 1806, who was able to collect but a small faction, having been immediately suppressed); the account of this transaction in July 1808, led to the farther scenes. The demands, exacted of the regency Dec. 31st, 1810, were: 1. Equality of rights with the inhabitants of the mother country. 2. Freedom of cultivating all productions and of manufactures. 3. Freedom of importation and exportation from and to all Spanish and friendly harbors. 4. Free trade between Spanish America and the possessions in America. 5. Likewise from the Philippines to the Spanish colonies. 6. The abolition of all commercial monopoly in consideration of an indemnification by duties. 7. The freedom of working the quicksilver mines. 8. The eligibility of all Spanish Americans to all offices and

dignities. 9. That half the offices should be filled by them. 10. That a Junta should watch over the observation of these points in each capital. 11. The restoration of the Jesuits for the instruction and conversion of the Indians.

1. Caraccas or Venezuela, six provinces. The inhabitants petitioned for the establishment of a Junta; but the governor Las Casas caused the petitioners to be arrested. A supreme Junta was erected for maintaining the rights of Ferdinand VII. and the Spanish magistrates were imprisoned April 19th, 1810. But after the declaration of rebellion by the regency, the congress of the United States of Venezuela was convened, and the republic proclaimed independent, July 5th, 1811; comprising the provinces Caraccas, Cumana, Maracaibo, Guajana, Barinos and the island Margarita. Affairs seemed in a prosperous state, when every thing was destroyed by the terrible earthquake of the 26th of March, 1812. The contest, however, was continued at first under Miranda, and since 1813 under Simon Bolivar. After the arrival of Morillo, June 1815, and the conquest of Carthagena Dec. 5th, the insurgents seemed to labor under a disadvantage. They maintained themselves, however, in the interior, especially in Guiana, whither the congress transferred its sessions, to Angostura, while the Spanish made themselves masters of the maritime cities. Never was war waged with such atrocities, till it was apparently terminated by the truce between Bolivar and Morillo, Nov. 25th, 1820. But after the resignation of Morillo, hostilities were renewed. Bolivar gained a decisive victory at Carabobo 24th of June, 1821, in consequence of which the Spaniards retained nothing but Porto Cabello.

2. New Granada, with twenty-two provinces, among which were Carthagena and Quito. A Junta was established in the capital, Santa Fè di Bogota, July 20th, 1810, which caused the viceroy to be arrested. But part only of the provinces joined. The scenes of barbarity in Quito, Aug. 2d, 1810, excited the greatest indignation, where the

leaders of the patriots, having been arrested by the troops of the viceroy of Peru, were murdered in prison and the city sacked. The provinces of Nueva Granada could never attain mutual harmony; even a civil war broke out, and the fall of Carthagena opened to Morillo the avenue to the capital, June 1816. But the Spanish were unable to maintain themselves there; the victorious campaign of the insurgents in 1819, deprived them again of the capital, which was entered by Bolivar on the 16th of August. Since that time, preparations were made to unite with Venezuela and form the common republic, Colombia.

3. Mexico, or New Spain, the principal country. The stronger military force, and the firmness of the viceroy Venega, delayed for a long time the rupture. The rebellion was begun by an ecclesiastic Hidalgos in Guanaxuato, Sept. 1810. He was soon at the head of a numerous army, but he was excommunicated, defeated, taken prisoner and executed 21st March, 1811. After him Morelos became the first leader; the insurrection spread to New Mexico and Acapulco, promoted by the cruelty of the new viceroy Apodaca till Oct. 1815, where the same fate befell Morelos, and soon after his successor Mina, Dec. 11th, 1815. The insurgents were unable to gain possession of the capital, on which the most depended; the Junta, that was formed, had no fixed seat, and the character of the coasts rendered foreign aid and importation of arms almost impossible. The royal power appeared here to have the preponderance; without the insurrection, being entirely quelled. There was only need of a common leader, to unite the dispersed forces. Such a one the insurgents acquired in Don Iturbide, 1820. The insurrection now became more general than ever; even the newly arrived viceroy was forced to make a treaty, Aug. 24th, 1821, in which he acknowledged the independence of the empire of Mexico; and Iturbide made his entrance into the capital, Sept. 27th, without bloodshed.*

* Memoirs of the Mexican revolution; including a narrative of the Expedition of General Minas. Philadelphia.

4. Rio la Plata or Buenos Ayres, in fourteen provinces. The strength of the capital had been tried in the repeated attacks of the British, 1806 and 1807 (see p. 247.) A Junta was first established, after the execution of the ex-viceroy Liniers, May 21st, 1810; but its authority was not recognized by all the provinces. A constitutent assembly was finally established, consisting of deputies from the towns of all the provinces of the viceroyalty, Jan. 31st, 1813. A government was organized consisting of three members; but soon of one director and a council of seven members, Dec. 31st. Its entire independence was proclaimed 9th July, 1816. The new republic had to contend with the Spanish troops from Peru in the upper provinces, with the partizans of Artigas, who appeared as an independent chief in Paraguay, and with the Portuguese, who occupied Monte Video; it sustained the conflict with varied success. The republic, however, maintained itself, but not without internal disturbances, and seems to have been most strengthened by the result in Upper Peru and Chile.

5. Chile. The insurrection began as early as 1810. A congress assembled at St. Jago, and the captain general had to resign his office. But internal discord prevailed. An opposition to the congress was formed by the brothers Carrera, and a Junta erected which dissolved the congress Dec. 1811. The despotism of Carrera occasioned differences and civil war, which facilitated the attempts of the Spanish to subjugate the country, Oct. 1814. But in Jan. 1817, Gen. San Martin advanced from La Plata across the Andes with a body of troops; he gained a victory at Chacabuco, Feb. 12th, and convened a congress. The Spanish, pressing forward anew under Osorio, were routed at Maipo, April 5th, 1818, and the Spanish dominion ceased. On the 1st of Jan. 1818, Chile was proclaimed independent.

1820. By an American who was present. Hitherto the most credible narrative, but it goes no farther than to 1819.

The establishment of a navy, the British admiral Cochrane entering its service, gave this state a peculiar importance.

6. Peru. The Spanish dominion was maintained the longest in the capital Lima, and the greater part of Peru (with the exception of the southern provinces), though a powerful opposition was collected. But the attack on Lima of San Martin, from Chile on land, while Cochrane blockaded the harbor Callao, forced the Spanish to leave Lima, which was entered by San Martin, July 16th, 1821. Callao capitulated Sept. 19th.*

12. Thus the power of Spain on the continent of America was in reality annihilated. The deep decay of the Spanish finances and navy; and the total paralysing of its commerce by the audacious privateering of the insurgents, must have aggravated to an extreme degree the difficulty of every undertaking. That the ancient relations, on which it formerly insisted, especially the commercial constraints, could no longer be enforced, Spain itself confessed in its negotiations with the allied powers; and the idea of a mere confederation, was publicly agitated in the mother country. What ever forms its political relations may assume, we may regard the freedom of America as actually established, though never formally acknowledged; unless this is sufficiently done by the existence of two powerful leading states in the north and south of this quarter of the globe. But notwithstanding the political forms of North America, we must not

* Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America, or an account of the origin, progress, and actual state of the war carried on between Spain and Spanish America, by a South American. London. 1817. Hitherto the most credible narrative of the events, so disguised by the spirit of party.

look for that rapid progress of colonization and population, here, where the same obstacles are presented by religion, modes of life and climate as in Brazil. The Spanish American insurgents have their most dangerous enemy in themselves. Who will ensure solidity and permanence to these newly arisen or newly arising states? And though we see republican constitutions springing up almost every where in this continent, can republican constitutions subsist, even in the most favorable event, among nations, where color determines the caste (Vol. I. p. 76)? And how can the universally proclaimed freedom of the press, be compatible with the hierarchy?

At the end of the year 1821, the following states had adopted constitutions, or were on the point of doing so in Spanish America:

1. The republic of Columbia consisting of the viceroyalty of New Granada, and the capitania of Caraccas or Venezuela; containing together twenty-three provinces; under a president elected for seven years, and a congress consisting of a senate and chamber of representatives. The congress was installed at Rosario de Cucuta (its future seat was to be Santa Fè di Bogota) 6th of June, 1821, and the constitution was proclaimed 30th of August.

2. The republic La Plata, consisting of the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, with the exception of Paraguay and of the territory of Monte Video. According to the constitution of the 28th May, 1819, it was governed by a director with the executive power, and a legislative body, consisting of the senate and house of representatives. The rest of the constitution was in some measure modelled after that of the United States.

* [The Argentine Republic is still in an unsettled condition. The contest is between the central and the federative

3. The republic of Chile, comprising the former captain-generalcy of the same name, under a director, and a legislative body, the regulation of which is not exactly known.*

4. Mexico, the former viceroyalty of New Spain, by the treaty of Iturbide, chief of the imperial army, with the viceroy Odonojou, was declared a constitutional empire, Aug. 24th, 1821, the throne of which should be proffered to a prince of the Spanish house, who was to reside in Mexico. The constitution was to be framed by the Cortes.†

5. Peru, the former viceroyalty of the same name; under the conqueror and protector San Martin, till the congress should frame a constitution.‡

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system, and no permanent forms of government are as yet agreed upon. Neither has the republic recognized the independence of Bolivia. The contest with Brazil respecting Monte Video, after varying success and unsatisfactory negotiations, seems at last to be adjusted. Both powers renounce their claim to the contested territory.]

* [The republic of Chili is still in an unsettled state. A constituent congress (one had previously been assembled in 1823 and 1824) was assembled July 4, 1826; but terminated its labors without effecting any permanent organization of the government. The parties are divided between the federative and the central system.]

† [After the Cortes had rejected the treaty, made 24th Aug. 1821, with O'Donoju, Iturbide took advantage of the dissensions in Mexico to get himself proclaimed emperor, 18th May 1822. But the royalists and the republicans uniting against him, he was obliged to resign his authority March 20, 1823, and according to an agreement into which he entered, sailed for Leghorn. The federal constitution of Mexico was published Jan. 31, 1824. Iturbide returned to Mexico by way of England, reached the bar of the port Sota la Marina July 8th, landed on the 16th in disguise, was discovered and taken into custody, carried to the province of Tamaulipas, and was there shot on the 19th; the congress having already, on the first intimation of his intended return, declared him an outlaw, April 28th, 1824. Guadalupe Victoria was elected the first President, and the first constitutional congress was opened Jan. 1st, 1825.]

‡ [That congress was convened in March, 1822. Boli-

6. The capitania of Guatimala* also declared itself independent 24th Sept. 1821, and seemed desirous of forming a republic of itself.†

13. The colonies of the Europeans in the West Indies underwent no other great changes, than that, having been most of them conquered by the British, they were returned in peace with the exceptions mentioned page 322. The insurrection of Spanish America did not reach Cuba and Porto Rico; the so important Havana remained uninterruptedly a Spanish possession; and the British were powerful enough to preserve tranquillity on their own and the conquered islands, towards which much was certainly contributed by the milder treatment of the slaves, since the prohibition of the slave trade.

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var having secured the independence of Columbia repaired to Peru.—At the close of 1823 the royalists were still powerful. The congress conferred on Bolivar dictatorial authority, Feb. 10th, 1824. The state of things was doubtful, till the victory of Ayacucho, Dec. 9. Bolivar was again, Feb. 10, 1825, invested with supreme power. In 1826 he caused a new constitution to be introduced, and was himself appointed dictator for life. The promulgation of the constitution took place Dec. 9, 1826. But Bolivar having gone to Columbia, a counter revolution was effected on the 27th and 28th of January, 1827, and General La Mar was appointed President. The issue is uncertain.]

* [The independence of Central America, which had submitted to Iturbide, was finally acknowledged by the constituent congress of Mexico, Aug. 20th, 1824.]

† [Since that time a seventh republic has been formed out of the Provinces of Upper Peru. After the victory gained by Sucre at Ayacucho Dec. 9th, 1824, it was made a question whether those provinces should join the Republic of Peru, or of La Plata. They decided for neither, and declared themselves an independent republic, under the name of Bolivia, Aug. 6th, 1825.]

By the compact with the Netherlands, Aug. 13th, 1814, England remained in possession of the colonies of Berbice, Essequebo and Demerary, which were in a very prosperous condition. By this compact England acquired, therefore, possessions on the continent of South America. The French Guiana, occupied by the Portuguese (see p. 322) was by the Acts of the congress of Vienna, Art. 107, restored to France, according to its ancient boundaries, the river Oyapoc instead of the Arvari, to which Napoleon had extended it in the peace 1801.

14. A spectacle, the more remarkable, is offered by St. Domingo or Hayti. Since the utterly unsuccessful attempts of the French to reconquer the island, its independence was decided; and no new attempts will ever be undertaken. The new empire was soon divided into two states; the smaller of which, with the capital Port au Prince, had a republican constitution under a president; the larger, with the capital Henry (Cap Français) had a monarchical constitution under a king, till the overthrow of the royal throne united both states into one republic, the republic of Hayti. The adoption of European culture and regulations, in the civil and military departments of this state of blacks, is a most striking phenomenon. It was natural that almost every thing should be shaped after French models, notwithstanding the hatred towards France; and colonization and with it foreign trade seemed to make important advances by means of free laborers, who remained, however, attached to their plantations in consideration of one quarter of the raw produce. Nothing has been heard of the piracy, which was dreaded.

After the retreat and capitulation of the French under the savage Rochambeau, successor of Leclerc (see p. 191) Dec. 1803, and the declaration of independence, Jan. 1st, 1804, the negro general John James Dessalines was appointed governor, May 1804; and soon after declared himself emperor of Hayti, 5th Oct. (James I.) The constitution was purely military under a blood thirsty tyrant, who was overthrown and murdered, 17th Oct. 1806. The general Henry Christopher was appointed by the army provisory chief of the government of Hayti. But a quarrel and war soon arose between the mulatto general Petion and the negro chief Henry Christopher. The last was raised to the dignity of king of Hayti, and the constitution promulgated by the council of state, 4th April, 1811. 1. The president Henry was declared hereditary king of Hayti. 2. Regulations respecting the *grand Conseil*, *Conseil privé*, the higher officer of state and the four ministers. 3. Respecting the oaths, and promulgation of the laws, etc. Nothing was said of popular representation or of different chambers.—The president Petion maintained himself in his part of the island; at his side was a senate and chamber of representatives, modelled after the forms of the United States. Petion was succeeded, after his death, 27th March, 1818, by Boyer. King Henry proffered a union in vain; peace however continued to exist. The territory of Henry consisted of the northern part of the island; the territory of Petion of the south western part. But the cruelty of king Henry armed his own soldiers against him; at which he shot himself in despair, 8th Oct. 1820. The president Boyer afterwards succeeded in effecting a union, since which, all the former French part of the island has constituted a republic, the republic of Hayti.—The Spanish part also of St. Domingo declared itself independent, 30th Nov. 1821; and has since been incorporated with Hayti.—The proposals of Louis XVIII. for a union with France were useless. Where locality and climate stand in connexion with liberty, and a

reconquest being impossible, would it not be the most advantageous course for France to conclude a treaty of commerce,* acknowledging its independence ?†

15. In Africa the colony on the Cape remained in the hands of the English, to whom it had belonged, with a slight interruption, for twenty years. (see p. 174). Colonization made, indeed, great progress; in the remote regions only is there land still destitute of masters; and the zeal of British and German missionaries has introduced Christianity among the wild Hottentots, and—which may be of far greater importance—among the Caffres; but the want of navigable rivers and passable roads throws insuperable obstacles in the way; and the Cape-town itself, visited almost exclusively by British vessels, resembles an inn, the custom of which is diminishing. Who, besides Britons and Americans, still trade to the East Indies? And not all of them touch there.

* [Something of this nature was done in 1825.]

† The Almanac Royal d' Hayti, on the plan of the Almanac imperial, gives the clearest insight into the organization of the former kingdom of Hayti.

Haytian Papers; a collection of the very interesting Proclamations and other official documents of the kingdom of Hayti, with a preface by Prince Sanders Esq., Agent for the Haytian government. Lond. 1816. Besides several proclamations, and the constitution in 35 articles, we find in this collection, the Law respecting the Culture from the Code Henry, fixing the legal relations between the proprietors and farmers of the plantations, and the laborers; these relations cannot have been much altered by the union with the republic. Very much to the advantage of the laborers; they have their legal condition, their share in the produce, but belong to the plantations, on which they dwell; and the master is obliged to provide for them in old age.—These regulations naturally proceeded from the circumstances of the place and times.

16. The fate of the other colonies on the coasts of Africa, whether belonging to the French or to the Portuguese, was for the most part connected with the slave trade. It is reserved for experience to show, whether they can flourish, when changed into colonies for plantations, as has already been done at the order of the king, with respect to Senegal after its restoration to France. The colony of Sierra Leone founded for this purpose (see p. 94) seems to grow slowly. But the efforts of the Europeans, to penetrate into the heart of Africa, have not ceased; and for the first time a British resident has been stationed at the court of a negro king, the king of the Ashantees on the Gold Coast. 1819. Jan. 1817.

17. The abolition of the slave trade is unquestionably one of the most remarkable phenomena, for colonial affairs. The earnestness, with which the British government has pursued this object since the acts of parliament of 1807 (p. 189), not only by declaring it a capital crime to participate in the traffic, but by making it a standing article in all the treaties, would seem almost astonishing, did we not know, how much it is the interest of the ministers to give no handle of calumniation to the opposition, since the nation likewise appears to regard it as an affair of honor. It must be difficult to succeed in a contest, where avarice and prejudice are both to be subdued.

The powers most interested in the abolition of the slave trade are Portugal, Spain and France. At the congress of Vienna, the principle was generally acknowledged, that the slave trade is to be abolished as soon as possible; but the

determination of the limit of time was reserved for separate negotiations between the eight powers: Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, Spain, Portugal and Sweden. In the treaties of Great Britain, with the single powers, the following stipulations have been agreed upon. 1. Treaty with France 30th of May 1814. 1. No foreigner shall in future introduce slaves into the French colonies. 2. The slave trade shall be absolutely interdicted to the French themselves after the 1st of June 1819.—By an edict 8th of Oct. 1814, the French slave trade to the coasts of Africa shall be limited to the parts south of Cape Formoso (4° N. Lat.) Finally, in conformity to the second peace of Paris, 20th Nov. 1815, a total prohibition was laid on the traffic. 2. Treaty with Portugal 21st and 22d Jan. 1815. 1. An absolute prohibition of Portuguese subjects to prosecute the slave trade north of the equator. 2. South of the equator it should remain free till further measures.—By a declaration, 6th of Feb. this term was fixed at the expiration of eight years (21st Jan. 1823.). 3. England paid 300,000 pounds as a remuneration to Portuguese subjects. —3. Treaty with Spain 23d Sept. 1817. 1. The slave trade shall cease in all the Spanish possessions on the 30th May, 1820. 2. No Spanish vessel shall prosecute it in future north of the equator, and south of it, after the fixed term. 3. England paid, Feb. 9th, 1818, 400,000 pounds to Spain as an indemnification for accidental previous losses sustained by Spanish subjects (rare magnanimity!) 4. Treaty with the Netherlands Aug. 13th, 1815. An entire prohibition of the Dutch to participate in the slave trade. 5. Treaty with Sweden 3d March, 1813. The same conditions. 6. Denmark had preceded England in the abolition (see p. 189). Confirmed in the peace of Kiel 14th Jan. 1814, (see p. 312.) In England itself, after the abolition in 1807, (see p. 189), the act of parliament of 4th May, 1811, declared participation in the traffic a capital crime. In the United States of America slavery exists indeed in

the southern states, inclusive of Virginia; but the importation of new slaves is prohibited. By the peace of Ghent, (see. p. 336) England and the United States mutually bound themselves to do every thing that lies in their power to abolish the slave trade. In the new republic of La Plata, it was immediately prohibited, and in the state of Columbia 16th July, 1821; the children born of slaves after this date shall be free, so soon as they have attained their eighteenth year. —The slave trade still exists therefore south of the equator in the Portuguese provinces, Angola, Congo, etc. and Mozambique; and the future will teach, how far it is possible to extirpate it entirely. It has been alleged as the motive of British policy to encourage the East Indies, where cotton and sugar are raised by free laborers by causing the West Indies to decline for want of laborers. But, 1. England possesses the most important of these colonies, and would therefore but inflict a wound on herself. 2. The assumption, that these colonies will want laborers, is in all probability wholly gratuitous.—Would that Great Britain would evince equal zeal in exterminating the slavery of the whites in the piratical states of Africa; the attack on Algiers, 27th Aug. 1816, produced only a momentary effect.

18. In close connexion with this subject stand the missionary and bible societies, which had spread themselves from England over all portions of the world. Is not the introduction of Christianity the condition, without which European culture in the other portions of the globe will ever be imperfect? In this too, the first steps are the most difficult; for they cannot become great and rapid, till teachers shall have been formed among the nations of those sections of the earth. If this victory of Christianity, raising it to be the prevailing religion of the world, lies in the plan of Providence,—who can calculate its consequences?

19. The history of the East Indies in this period is almost exclusively the history of the British empire there. All the possessions of the other European powers, of the Dutch, the French and the Danes, fell, with but little resistance, into their 1807. hands; and Goa itself, after an amicable con- Dec. vention with Madeira, was taken under their protection. Of greater importance were the wars with the native princes. They eventually enlarged the territory of the company to the Indus on the one side, and the inaccessible mountains of Thibet on the other. The power of the Mahrattas was subverted, but the English became in Panjab the neighbors of the Afghan or East Persian empire, as well as of Thibet and thereby of China. That further aggrandizement is a misfortune, England is well aware; but the conqueror cannot always set his own bounds. Peace has, nevertheless, existed; and an administration, much improved, promises to afford British India some recompense for its past miseries.

Notwithstanding the peace concluded Dec. 30th, 1803, (see p. 197) war was begun again with Holcar, the prince of the Mahrattas, in April 1804. Rampur was conquered by Gen. Wellesley, 16th May, and Holcar's capital, Indore, Aug. 26th. On the other hand, a great loss was suffered before Burtpur, Jan. 11th, 1805. In the peace, Dec. 24th, Holcar renounced all his claims, and agreed to hold no European in his service. The Scindiah had also engaged in the war. In the peace, Nov. 22d, he relinquished to the company his possessions north of the river Tschumbul, which was made the boundary. From this time there was quiet on this side—but in Nov. 1814, the war began with the Rajah of Nepaul (the border country between Oude and

Thibet,) originating in disputes respecting the boundaries. The co of this mountain war in 1815 was less successful. Bu he victorious advance of Gen. Ochterlong, peace wa ned 4th May, 1816, with the cession of the contested districts, and of the mountainous passes. Afterwards Capt. Webb, Moorcroft, &c. succeeding in ascending the Himmalayah mountains; and—Chimborazo lost its fame. But a new war with the Mahrattas was to decide the fate of this nation, 1817. The invasions of the Pindarees (nomadic hordes of cavalry from the north of the peninsula), who increased into an army, soon led to the certainty, that they were in understanding with the chiefs of the Mahrattas, the Peischwa in Puna, Bajee Row, the Scindiah, the rajah of Nagpur (the Bunsla) as well as Holcar and Amer Khan, in Malpa. By the combined operations of the governor general Hastings (Lord Moira) the single nations were overpowered, before they could form a junction, and the Pindarees were annihilated. The regions between the Sinde and Tschumbul (branches of the Jumna) were the principal theatre of the war. Consequences: 1. The Peischwa, defeated 5th and 17th Nov. 1817, was deposed and made captive. 2. The rajah of Nagpur was compelled to surrender at discretion, 26th Nov., and having been convicted of a new conspiracy, met with the same fate. 3. Having been defeated on the 21st Dec., Holcar was compelled to cede two thirds of his territory, which was divided between some small allied rajahs and the company. 4. Scindiah was entirely isolated and too weak to support himself. 5. Amer Khan was rendered defenceless by the dissolution of his army and the loss of all his artillery, Nov. 5th. "Thus the Indus became in truth the boundary of the British dominion. Between that river and Calcutta there are nothing but small states, either attached to the English, or too weak to raise a single standard against them. The power of the Mahrattas is broken forever."*

* The answer of the governor general, Marquis Hastings,

20. The wars in Europe also enlarged the territory of the British in the East Indies. They acquired from France the important Isle de France (p. 322), by which their Indian navigation would be protected in future maritime wars. From the Dutch Cochin on Malabar, in consideration of the island Banca, abounding in tin, acquired by them during the possession of Batavia. The Dutch possessions on Ceylon, already ceded, led to the conquest of the island and subverted the throne of the Rajah (emperor) of Candy; but it was easier to make, than to hold the conquest.

After the cession of the Dutch possessions on Ceylon in the peace of Amiens 1802, to the Crown, a fruitless attempt was made in 1803 to conquer Candy. It was accomplished by a connexion with a native governor, 1815. After the seizure of the capital, the Rajah was made prisoner, dethroned, and transported to Madras, 24th Jan. 1816. Is there in the East Indies a different international law towards rightful monarchs from what exists in England? The insurrection, which soon broke out, took ample revenge for the deed of violence; but it was the cause of great suffering to the island.*

21. Notwithstanding the enlargement of the territory of the company, no alterations took place

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to the address of the inhabitants of Calcutta, on his return; a very valuable document.

An account of the kingdom of Nepaul, by Col. Kirkpatrick, with a map. London. 1811. The best description of the country. He had already been sent thither as ambassador in 1793.

* Account of the interior of Ceylon by J. Davy. London. 1821. The author was on the island from 1816 to 1820. Very important for the antiquities and religious state of the island, where the Budda worship still prevails.

in its political constitution ; the regulations introduced by Pitt (p. 103) continued in force. But of so much the greater importance were the changes of its commercial privileges, when the charter of the company had to be renewed in 1814. The clamors, so often raised against the monopoly of the company, were successful, and obtained a partial restriction of it. The company received the exclusive trade to China, but not to the East Indies proper. This private trade might be carried on by all Britons with all the harbors of the company, not only from the port of London but from others at the discretion of the government, and in their own private vessels. The future must show, whether these regulations will be followed by all the advantages, that were anticipated. Hitherto, the trade of the company does not seem to have suffered.

The charter was renewed, April 10th, 1814, for twenty years. 1. The monopoly of the company was limited to China. 2. The other trade was made free to all Britons in ships not under 350 tons, subjected, however, to certain formalities. 3. In doubtful cases, the decision should rest with the Board of Controul (see p. 103). 4. Certain regulations respecting the application of the territorial revenues to defraying the expenses *a.* of the administration and the army, *b.* of the civil and commercial establishments. *c.* The surplus should be expended on the objects assigned by the Court of Directors with the approbation of the Board of Controul. 5. Regulations respecting the application of the profit accruing from the trade, *a.* to the payment of accepted bills of exchange ; *b.* Of the interest of the debt, and costs of commerce ; *c.* Of a yearly dividend of 10 per cent. *d.* To the reduction of the capital debt in India and England,

till the former should be diminished to ten million, the latter to three million pounds sterling. Parliament should have the disbursement of the rest. 6. The governor general, the governors, and the commanders of the troops should be chosen by the Court of Directors, but agreeably to the will of his Majesty. 7. A bishop and three deacons should be chosen for ecclesiastical affairs in India.*

22. Though in the peace of Paris, the East India possessions of the French, as well as of the Danes and Dutch, were restored, with the exceptions mentioned above (p. 322), the Dutch alone deserve to be noticed. Since the dissolution of the East India Company, they were the property of the state, which, after its transmutation into a kingdom, sent to Batavia a marshal as governor general, with dictatorial power over all Dutch India, who introduced an almost military rule and a new organization. But soon after, the British made themselves for the first time masters of Batavia, conquering it from Bengal. During their five years' possession, so wise and mild an administration was exercised, that after the restoration, it seems to have been difficult to the natives and Europeans to become accustomed again to Dutch dominion. During the short time it was in the possession of Britain, a clearer light was shed over the remarkable island, than was done during the two centuries of the dominion of Holland.

* The History of the European Commerce with India, to which is subjoined a review of the arguments for and against the trade with India, and the management of it by a chartered Company. By David Macpherson. London. 1812. This very instructive history is written to prove, that the entire monopoly of the company must continue. We here find the arguments on both sides most copiously detailed.

The administration of Marshal Daendels lasted from 14th Jan. 1808, to May 16th, 1811. His principal exertions, with respect to the produce, were, to encourage the cultivation of coffee, (more than 47 million trees were planted according to his statement); but this was attended with the greatest oppression of the natives. The English were in possession from Sept. 11th, 1811, to Aug. 19th, 1816.*

23. For the continent of Australia, new and pleasing prospects were unfolded. The British settlements in New South Wales and van Diemen's Land prospered, because the number of free laborers increased; in a few years the population had doubled; and important returning freights, especially of wool, compensated for the expenditures of the mother country. A lively trade was carried on with India and the remotest regions of the world. The chains of mountains, before deemed inaccessible, in the rear of the colony, were surmount-

* Daendel's Staat der Nederlandschen Oostindischen Bezittingen in den Jaaren 1808—1811. s'Gravenhaage. 1814. With a collection of documents as an appendix in four volumes. The sketch of the condition of the country at the beginning of his administration shows that Hoogendorp had not exaggerated. The causes of decline are those, mentioned above.

The History of Java, by Thomas Stamford Raffles, Esq. late Lieut. Governor of that Island and its Dependencies; in two volumes. London. 1817. 4to. In every respect the leading work respecting Java. Rich in new disclosures concerning Indian antiquity.

Nederlandsche Bezittingen in Azia, Africa en America, in derzelven Toestand en Aangelendheit voor dit Ryk, wysgeerig, staatshuishondkundig en geographisch beschreven, door J. van den Bosch, General major, etc. Amsterdam. 1818. 4to. In justification of the previous Dutch administration.

ed and a road over them was constructed. Spacious and fertile but thinly inhabited plains, intersected by rivers, invited the agriculturist; and the lately founded town of Bathurst is to be the starting point for explorers of the interior of this wonderful land. On the Society Islands (see p. 201) Christianity is victorious; the Sandwich Islands resemble a British settlement; and the New Zealanders, carrying on an increasing traffic with New South Wales, have begun to eat potatoes instead of human flesh. All these are the elements of a new order of things; the elements of one grand, universal political system, growing out of the narrow colonial system of Europe.*

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* The History of New South Wales, by O'Hara. London. 1817. Goes to 1816.

A statistical, historical, and political description of the Colony of New South Wales and its dependent settlements in van Diemen's Land; by W. C. Wentworth, a native of the colony. London. 1820. The leading work, in respect of statistics.

The Sidney Gazette. The number of inhabitants in New South Wales and van Diemen's Land has increased within six years from 12,000 to 25,000; half of whom are free agriculturists.

THIRD SECTION.

RESTORATION OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE.*

The following section naturally contains the results, not only of the congress of Vienna, so far as they relate to the political system of Europe, but also of the previous and subsequent negotiations of Paris; arranged not according to time but matter.

1. The restoration of the dismembered political system of Europe was the greatest, and—if successful—would prove the most glorious office, that statesmen were ever called upon to discharge. But the policy of statesmen was of itself unable to solve this problem; how could they have conciliated the many clashing interests? Nothing but the pure will of the monarchs was able to effect it; and whence should this will proceed, but from their personal sentiments, and the great experience they had just acquired? Their work itself must constitute their eulogium; but it is impossible to delineate it, except from this point of view. No less indeed depended both on the views and sentiments of the ministers, to whom the execution was entrusted. Different as their characters were, they were at least practical statesmen; and this afford-

* J. L. Klüber Acten des Wiener Congresses. Bisher sieben Bände. 8vo. 1815. A highly meritorious collection.

J. L. Klüber Uebersicht der diplomatischen Verhandlungen des Wiener Congresses überhaupt, und insonderheit über wichtige Angelegenheiten des Deutschen Bundes; in zwei Abtheilungen. 1816.

Schoell Histoire abregée, (see p. 240) Vol. 10—12.—The eleventh volume, principally according to Klüber, contains the history of the congress of Vienna.

ed a security against the danger, that a structure would be reared, which could have existed only in theory.

The *personal* of the congress of Vienna, whose most important members were active, before and after, the negotiations of Paris, see p. 325.

2. But that the powerful, and even the most powerful of the earth ever stand under the influence of the prevailing ideas of the age, has rarely been more strongly illustrated than in the present case. That princes and nations do not exist to make war on each other, unless forced by necessity; that states, in forming a free political system, must mutually respect each other's independence; that the constitutions must be regulated by fixed laws; that a certain portion in the legislation, especially in taxation, must be conceded to the people through their representatives; that slavery and bondage are evils, which must be abolished; that its lawful freedom is to be given to the communication of ideas by means of the pen and press; finally and above all that there is a connexion between religion, policy and morality, which is to be strengthened to the utmost degree—these were maxims, either explicitly declared or tacitly acknowledged. And the influence, which the forms of social life have on political transactions, was manifested in the most beneficial way. Nothing was heard of that altercation respecting rank, which a century before, had so clogged the proceedings at Utrecht; and the most powerful monarchs were daily seen, moving among the citizens, in the dress of private men.

3. Favorable as these circumstances were, every intelligent person might foresee, that there would be no dearth of obstacles, and that the edifice to be reared would bear little resemblance to the ideal structures, that so many had formed. The criterion, by which every proposition had to be measured, was not what was abstractly possible, but what was possible under the given circumstances and relations; and though this criterion involved imperfections and deficiencies, can this surprise the experienced?

4. The restoration of the political system of Europe was founded on the whole on the principle of legitimacy; the legitimate dynasties, that had been more or less dispossessed, were to be reinstated. The restoration necessarily embraced the single parts as well as the whole. In respect to the single parts, their territorial extent and their constitution were taken into consideration; this last, however, was left to each state itself. But the popular opinion, confirmed not only by theorists, but principally by the example of Great Britain, had declared itself so loudly in favor of constitutional monarchy, that this form of government became prevalent, if not universal, throughout Europe. After the disappearance of all greater republics, Switzerland alone excepted, the European political system, acquired more than ever, a monarchical character, without however any infraction of political liberty, and as elective kingdoms happily disappeared from it, with legitimacy; a greater stability was obtained. The conflict of parties, the symptom of freedom, reaches not the

rulers, but only the responsible ministers. Would that there had been an unanimity, respecting the nature of that form of government; but painful experience was soon to prove, how much was wanting to it.

The superiority of the constitutional monarchy (with a representative assembly, the proceedings of which are public) over the autocratic monarchy (where both are wanting) is not founded on the fact, that the former is always better governed; (even autocracies are not unfrequently excellently governed); but on the greater or less value, which is placed on the political culture of the nation, and its consequences. This improvement can proceed from nothing but an actual participation in their own concerns; and it is therefore to be hoped, that the diffusion of constitutional forms of government will have a beneficial influence on Europe, provided the restrictions are observed, which the nature of monarchy demands. Experience must show, how far each people is ripe for this liberty; the character is, in this case, more decisive than the spirit. It takes time to learn—how to become accustomed to liberty. And let him, who expects immediately to find in a new chamber, a Pitt or a Fox, turn over the annals of Great Britain itself, as far back as the times of the Long Parliament.*

5. There was scarcely a state of Europe, whose territorial relations were not in a distracted state. Only the limitation of France to its ancient boun-

* Heeren's essay: Ueber den Einfluss der politischen Theorieen, und die Erhaltung des Monarchischen Princips in dem neueren Europa, Vermischte historische Schriften B. I. p. 365 fg. The second (lately annexed) part of the essay expresses the conditions of constitutional monarchy, unless our states shall degenerate into inferior monarchies and republics, not in wavering positions and half assertions, but, according to the views of the author, clearly and explicitly. It is his political confession of faith.

daries by the treaties of Paris, by which so many important countries on that side of the Rhine and the Alps were placed at the disposal of the allies, rendered an adjustment and restoration possible. But a complete restoration could not be effected, without greater injustice than before. The number of souls and square miles, besides the amount of revenues, was generally taken as the criterion of adjustment; and not wholly without reason; but was it not too frequently taken as the sole criterion? It was also impossible to establish a general epoch. This difficulty was avoided by adopting a different one for each of the three leading powers; with France it preceded 1792; with Austria, it was the year 1805, though with some variations; and with Prussia the statistical measure of 1806 was adopted. All farther questions, with these as well as the smaller states, were to be settled by cessions.

6. From Germany, the central state of Europe, must begin our survey of each of the states. That to its fate is united the fate of Europe, modern history has too forcibly inculcated, to need any farther demonstration. But what an aspect did Germany exhibit, at the moment of its emancipation. For ten years it had ceased to be a state. On all sides, its boundaries were narrowed. The left bank of the Rhine, Holstein, and the Illyrian provinces had been torn away. In its interior, the rights of possession were almost every where altered and doubtful. The Prussian monarchy had been dismembered; Austria deprived of a great portion of its oldest hereditary provinces; Saxony,

with several smaller countries, placed under administration; the ephemeral kingdom of Westphalia dissolved. How much was requisite, to restore order to this chaos!

7. If they were to exist, the necessity of forming the German states into a political unity, as far as this was possible, was evident to the unprejudiced observer. It was loudly demanded by the public voice, and never was the national spirit of Germany so aroused. But how far was it possible? Not a thought could be entertained of a transformation into one state—which would have been the grave of German culture and European freedom—nothing more could be designed, than a union of the existing states of Germany. This idea was already proposed in the first peace of Paris, and at the congress of Vienna, it was tried how far it was feasible. It seemed necessary to surrender all hopes of its consummation, when a higher destiny, exhorting the princes with threatenings, came to its assistance, and the pressure of circumstances brought the act of the German Confederation to a conclusion. By it the sovereign princes of Germany and the free cities formed themselves into a perpetual league, called the Germanic Confederation, with a federative diet, to be held at Frankfort on the Maine. A permanent bond was to encircle the German states; and though it was drawn less tightly than was expected by the nation, and less so than was desired by some of the most powerful parties concerned in framing it, it was, nevertheless, a bond; and the hope at least remained, that time would render it more compact, when the necessity should be felt.

The first preliminary declaration of a Germanic Confederation was contained in the peace of Paris, 1814, Art. 6th. "The states of Germany shall be independent, and united by a federative league." (Therefore no German empire, under an emperor as sovereign). A German commision was established at the congress of Vienna, consisting of the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover and Wurtemberg. But thirteen sessions 14th October to 16th November, gave the melancholy result, that no agreement could be found, while Bavaria and Wurtemberg presented so many objections. And besides, the other German states and free cities entered into a counter alliance, in order to oppose the right of the commission, to settle any thing without their assent. A general deliberation was first held in May and June (yet Wurtemberg and Baden acceded at a later period), and the act of confederation was signed 8th June, 1815. Signers, 1. Austria. 2. Prussia (both for the countries, which formerly belonged to the German Empire, with the inclusion of Silesia). 3. Bavaria. 4. Saxony. 5. Hanover. 6. Wurtemberg. 7. Baden. 8. Electorate of Hesse. 9. Grand duchy of Hesse. 10. Denmark on account of Holstein. 11. The Netherlands on account of Luxemburg. 12. Brunswick. 13. Mecklenburg Schwerin. 14. Nassau. 15. Saxe Weimar. 16. Saxe Gotha. 17. Saxe Coburg. 18. Saxe Meiningen. 19. Saxe Hildburghausen. 20. Mecklenburg-Strelitz. 21. Holstein-Oldenburg. 22. Anhalt-Dessau. 23. Anhalt-Bernburg. 24. Anhalt-Cothen. 25. Schwartzburg-Sondershausen. 26. Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt. 27. Hohenzollern-Hechingen. 28. Lichtenstein. 29. Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. 30. Waldeck. 31. Reuss, elder line. 32. Reuss, younger line. 33. Schaumburg-Lippe. 34. Lippe-Detmold. To these were afterwards added 35. Hesse-Homburg. And the four free cities. 36. Lubeck. 37. Frankfort. 38. Bremen. 39. Hamburg. Principal points. I. General. 1. All the parties, convinced of the advantages of their connexion for

the maintenance of the tranquillity and the balance of Europe, unite themselves in one league, to be called the German Confederation. 2. Its object is, the maintainance of the internal and external security of Germany, and of the independence and inviolability of each of the German states. 3. All the members of the confederation have, as members, equal rights; all bind themselves equally to keep the act of Confederation inviolable. 4. The concerns of the Confederation are managed by a Federative Diet, which has, in all, seventeen voices. 5. Austria shall preside in the sessions of the diet. Every member is authorized to make propositions, which the president submits to deliberation. 6. In bringing forward or altering any of the fundamental laws, or organic regulations of the Confederation, the assembly forms itself into a *plenum* with sixty nine votes, according to future distribution. 7. In the *plenum* as well as in the smaller diet, the majority of votes decides; in the latter the absolute majority is requisite; in the former two thirds. But when there is a question, that concerns the adoption or alteration of the fundamental laws, the organic regulations of the Confederation, the *jura singulorum* or affairs of religion, no resolution can be made, by a majority of votes. 8. Regulations respecting the order of voting. 9. The Confederative Diet is held at Frankfort on the Maine. 10. A sketch of the fundamental laws. 11. All the members promise to defend, both all Germany, and each state of the Confederation against every attack, and mutually guarantee all the possessions of each other included in the Confederation. In a war of the Confederation, there are to be no partial negotiations, or truce and peace. The members of the Confederation do not, however, alienate the right of making alliances of every kind, but engage to enter into no connexion, which should militate against the safety of the Confederation or of the single states. They engage to make war upon each other, on no pretence whatever, and not to enforce their claims with violence, but to bring them before the Fed-

erative Diet, and to submit to the dicision of a commission, or of an impartial court of reference. II. Particular points. 12. The erection of supreme courts of judicature. 13. A representative constitution shall be adopted in all the federate states. 14. Regulations respecting the relations of the princes who had been independent but are now no longer so. 15. Respecting the pensions of the former members of the foundations and of the Teutonic Order. 16. Respecting debts and pensions. 17. Equality of civil and political rights for all denominations of Christians. 18. Regulations respecting the post in favor of the house of Thurn and Taxis. 19. General rights of the subjects of the states of the Germanic Confederation. *a*. The power of possessing landed property in other states, without any extra taxes. *b*. The right of free removal, of entering into service, exemption from all subsequent taxes; and the future adoption of similar arrangements respecting the liberty of the press and the rights of authors and publishers.

The constitution of the Germanic Confederation first acquired its perfection by the ministerial conferences, holden at Vienna, Dec. 1819—May 1820, a supplementary act of sixty five articles having been added, May 15th, 1820. The principal points fixed by it respected 1. the efficiency and competency of the diet. 2. The cases, where the inferior diet is sufficient, or a *plenum* is necessary. 3. Adjustment of the differences between the members of the Confederation. 4. The execution of the resolutions of the Confederation. 5. The relations with foreign states, and resolution respecting war and peace, etc.

8. Under existing circumstances and relations, practicability must, here also, have been the line of conduct. A union of states, with a federal government, like the one in North America, could have been expected by those only, who assumed, that the princes of Germany would relinquish

their thrones. How much is gained, and how much is wanting, is evident. The maintenance of the internal tranquillity and peace of Germany, as well as of its independence with respect to other countries, the formation of free constitutions, the equality of the weakest and the most powerful members, (where did history ever behold the parallel?) was explicitly proposed; and has hitherto been pursued by no one more conscientiously, than by the most powerful. What is still wanting, may be supplied, if the Germans—are willing to supply it; not by forms, but by the love of their common country. The princes should recollect, that they, partners in the Confederation, should not refuse to submit to the diet those affairs, that fall within its cognizance; and the mass of the people, who, always depreciating the present good, speak only of the deficiencies of the Confederation, should know, that they themselves are its most dangerous enemies. The voice of the nation must support and exalt it. The cabinets alone are unable to do so, if they desired it, unless they are seconded by the public voice and the popular sympathy. To be the pacific state of Europe is its high destiny; can there be a more glorious one, provided it fulfils it? The diet was opened at Frankfort on the 5th of November 1816.*

9. The territorial arrangements in Germany were most closely connected with the restoration

* Der Deutsche Bund in seinen Verhältnissen zu dem Europäischen Staatensystem; bey Eröffnung des Bundestags dargestellt von A. H. L. Heeren. 1816. With a postscript in: Vermischte historische Schriften B. II. p. 452. flg.

of the two greater German monarchies. But the restoration of these monarchies was the affair, not of Germany only, but of Europe, and as such was it treated. The five leading powers, which had concluded the peace of Paris, Austria, Prussia, England, Russia and France, formed at the congress the closer union, for the affairs of Europe, under the presidency of prince Metternich; into this union, the three other powers were drawn in single cases, Spain, Portugal and Sweden. It was therefore these eight powers, that signed the acts of the congress of Vienna.

The names of the ambassadors see p. 325.

10. The restoration of the Austrian Monarchy was effected for the most part by means of the dissolved kingdom of Italy, and of the reconquered Illyrian provinces, but in part by the return of the cessions to Bavaria. By this, the Austrian monarchy became a geographical whole,—with twenty eight million inhabitants, of which nine and a half millions belonged to the German Confederation; the rest were Hungarians, Italians, Illyrians and Poles. This monarchy thus resumed its ancient character, that of a union of nations and states under a common sovereign, but without a common constitution. It is here wise for the rulers to respect their character.

By the congress of Vienna, Austria acquired 1. In Italy all the countries situated between the Tessino, Po, and Adriatic sea, with the Veltelin and Chiavenna, the part of Mantua south of the Po, and the right of holding a garrison in Ferrara. They were elevated into a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. (And moreover, the family acquired the three

secundogenitures, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma and Piacenza). 2. The Illyrian provinces ceded in the peace of Vienna (p. 275), immediately after elevated into the kingdom of Illyria. 3. The former Venetian Dalmatia with the republic Ragusa and the islands, as far as the Gulf of Cattaro. 4. By compacts with Bavaria, 3rd June 1814, and 14th April 1816 (in consideration of some other indemnification) Tyrol and Vorarlberg (with the exception of the district Weiler) Salzburg as far as Salza; the portions of the Innviertel and Hausruckviertel, which were ceded by Austria in 1809. 5. From Russia, the district ceded in East Gallicia (p. 275).

11. The restoration of the Prussian Monarchy according to the statistical relations of 1805 was recognized by all, and especially by Austria, as essentially necessary; (who could doubt it? Who, after such sacrifices, would refuse it to Prussia?) But the restoration was necessarily exposed to greater difficulties, because this country had been much more dismembered; and every thing could not be restored to the footing of 1805. Anspach and Baireuth could not be restored, by reason of their situation, without mutilating Bavaria; Cleves and Berg, however, were substituted in their stead. But the greatest difficulties were occasioned by the claims of Russia to the duchy of Warsaw.— The curse of the Polish partitions still lay heavily on Europe. Prussia, attaching itself to Russia, demanded for its sacrifices in Poland all Saxony, whose king was to be indemnified in Westphalia. Austria, England, and especially France spoke for the Saxon house. Scarcely a mention was made of the Saxon people. There were moments when, from less pacific princes, extremities might have been apprehended. An intermediate course was at

last discovered by policy; the country which had suffered for Germany was divided! and a part also of the duchy of Warsaw was allotted to Prussia. The most perplexing knot was thus untied or cut; nothing farther could create difficulties of importance. Thus with about ten million inhabitants, and a territory divided into two great portions, Prussia came again into the number of the first powers, the territory and population of each of which generally amounted to thrice as much. If it wishes to hold its station, its spirit must supply what is wanting in mass. That it can, it has proved; with ten millions Prussia fell, with five millions it recovered itself. Happy for Europe, that it has such a state in its centre.

By the peace of Tilsit, Prussia lost about half of its territory and population. It recovered what it then resigned, but renounced its claims to the greater part of South Prussia and N. East Prussia, which were assigned to Russia. Anspach and Baireuth, which were retained by Bavaria, Hildesheim, East Friesland and a portion of Lingen and Eichsfeld, which were allotted to Hanover. For the lost, it claimed indemnification, which it acquired in a part of South Prussia, (duchy of Posen), almost half the kingdom of Saxony (ceded by the act of May 18th, 1815;) Swedish Pomerania, Cleves, Berg, Ahremberg and other portions of Westphalia, and the greater part of the left bank of the Rhine to the Saar, by which Germany obtained, at the same time, a bulwark. Of the ten provinces of the monarchy, seven, Brandenberg, Pomerania, Saxony, Silesia, Westphalia, Cleves and Berg, and the Lower Rhine with almost eight million inhabitants belonged to the Germanic Confederation; not the three others, East and West Prussia with Posen. A constitutional form was to take the place of the autocracy; but

the organization of the administration was suffered to precede the organization of the constitution, which could not be unattended with great difficulties in so divided a state.*

12. In the territorial adjustment of the other great states of Germany 1. Bavaria acquired, in remuneration for its cessions to Austria, a part of the left bank of the Rhine; Wurzburg; Aschaffenburg; and some portions of Fulda. Its farther claims on Baden for the circle of the Maine and Tauber, and the escheatage of the circle of the Neckar, remained unsatisfied. 2. Wurtemburg and 3. Baden remained unaltered. 4. Hanover received the royal dignity; from Prussia, Hildesheim, East Frieseland, the Lower district of Lingen, Meppen and a part of Eichsfeld, together with some districts from the elector of Hesse; but ceded to Prussia Lauenburg beyond the Elbe (which it exchanged with Denmark for Pomerania, obtained from Sweden with Rugen (p. 313) together with some districts. The acts of the congress of Vienna give the territorial adjustment of the smaller states. The introduction, (promised Art. 13,) of representative constitutions has already been accomplished in Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Hanover, Baden, Grand Duchy of Hesse, Brunswick, Nassau, Mecklenburg, Saxe Weimar, etc; in Saxony as in the electorate of Hesse, the old forms still exist; in the others the introduction is waited for.

* For the history of the negotiations respecting Saxony, besides the works quoted page 363 we refer the reader to the essay in the first volume of the Minerva 1817, with the documents. And the work: Wie wurden wir was wir sind? Von einem Sachsen 1815.

The constitutions of the German states, notwithstanding many modifications in respect both of the organization, and the greater or less publicity of their transactions, have hitherto coincided in the following points: 1. The monarchical principle has every where been upheld, in the mode of conferring constitutions by the rulers and by a just settling of their rights in relation to the states. 2. The assembly of the states consists of two chambers. 3. To these is allotted their proper part in the legislation, especially in relation to taxation.*

13. The restoration of the state of the Netherlands was one of the principal points in the restoration of the political system of Europe. History has shown, how intimately its fate was connected with the fate of the Belgic, no less than the Batavian, provinces, since Belgium in the hands of France, first opened the avenue to universal dominion. It was felt to be necessary to found there a powerful state, which, at least in alliance with Prussia, should be strong enough to defend itself; and the union of all the Netherlands into one kingdom was resolved on at Vienna. The sovereign prince adopted in consequence the royal title, and the house of Orange, governing the same provinces which had belonged to the house of Hapsburg, gave them a free constitution instead of Philip's tyranny. The necessity of a fixed boundary was likewise perceived and provided for. Though two nations, differing in origin, language (as 2000 years before) and religion could

* Exposé du droit public de l'Allemagne par E. H. de S. (Schwartzkopf) Paris et Geneve. 1821. Written chiefly for foreigners.

not be immediately amalgamated; though it was not possible to open at the same time to the commerce and manufactures of both, the market they desired, the foundation was, nevertheless, laid of a permanent union; and the wisdom of the house of Orange must accomplish the rest.

According to the treaty of Vienna, 31st May, 1815, the constituent parts of the kingdom of the Netherlands were: all the Batavian and Belgic provinces, with Luttich, divided into seventeen provinces, besides the separate Grand Duchy of Luxemberg, belonging to the Germanic Confederation. Constitution: inheritance of the throne in the house of Orange. The king with full executive powers and the right of first proposing laws; but the chambers may make propositions. At the side of the king, the council of state, of his appointment. A legislative body; the States General in two chambers. The first of from 40 to 60 members appointed for life by the king. The second of 110 members elected by the states of the provinces. These in each province are composed of the knighthood, cities and deputies from the county. Freedom of worship, and political equality of religious denominations.—The boundaries are fortified by a chain of fortifications, built at the cost of England in return for the cession of the colonies Essequebo, Demerary and Berbice. (Convention of 13th Aug. 1814.)—The restored colonies, dependent on the king, are: Surinam, Curaçao and St. Eustache with St. Martin: Batavia with Banca, Malacca and the Moluccas with its dependencies (see p. 350); subsequently extended by the overthrow of the Sultan of Palembang on Sumatra in 1820; after previous fruitless attempts.

14. The state of Great Britain, emerging uninjured from the storms of the times, needed no restoration of its territory or its constitution. The maxims of Pitt were maintained and had been

triumphant; the erection of the regency had produced no alteration, as little the accession of the king. Its influence on the civilization of the world, contributed yet more than the splendor of its victories and its political influence to the glory of Great Britain. It was the source of the spirit of free constitutions. The constitution was the model—not for the blind imitation, but for the instruction, of others. Its influence and earnest purpose prohibited the slave trade; and by its institutions, the light of Christianity, the vehicle of European culture, was diffused through every part of the world. A new method of popular instruction, (useful so long as it keeps within these limits), already no less diffused, had its origin there, almost contemporarily with the discovery of vaccination, which seems to do more than compensate for the carnage of war. And will not the great progress of manufactures, which was previously able to repress, in part, the manufacturing industry of other countries, like every advancement of the human mind, ultimately have, on the whole, a beneficial operation? When the art of printing began to prosper, the trade of copyists and the art of calligraphy declined. Should a prohibition have been, therefore, laid on the press?

1811. 10th Jan.

1799.

The aggrandizements of the British state were confined in Europe to Malta and Heligoland. In the colonies, they embraced in the West Indies, Tabago, St. Lucia, and Surinam; in Africa, the Cape; in the East Indies, Isle de France, Cochin, and the conquests from the Mahrattas (see pages 322, 357.)

Since the dissolution of the ministry of Grenville and Fox, 26th March, 1807, the British ministry had been composed, with the change of single offices, of friends and disciples of Pitt. Lord Liverpool, Hawksbury, Canning, Percival, Castlereagh, Vansittart, etc. all belong to this class. After the murder of the first Lord of the treasury, Spencer Perceval, 11th of May, 1812, Lord Liverpool filled his place, who has since stood at the head of the ministry, with Lord Castlereagh as secretary of foreign affairs and Vansittart as Chancellor of the exchequer.*

15. The restoration of the French state was the condition of the restoration of Europe. That it was necessary for France herself, as a member of this political system to be great and powerful, the allies themselves had loudly averred in the midst of their victories. Ever since her restriction to her former boundaries, her situation, her extent, her population, and the spirit of her inhabitants, render her the most powerful state of Europe. Her boundaries were determined by the treaties; her constitution was left to herself. A difficult task! But Providence gave France, at this moment, the greatest blessing it could confer, a prudent man for a king, and at his side, a counsellor like Richelieu. From England he brought his people the most valuable of gifts, that of a free constitution. It is now for the nation to show, that they can bear freedom. Their history may excite apprehension; but if the French can bear it, what a future is opened to France? She no

* [Mr. Canning succeeded to the ministry, 11th April, 1827; on his death followed the ministry of Viscount Goderich, Aug. 10th, 1827 to Jan. 25th, 1828, at which time the Duke of Wellington became premier.]

longer has an enemy in Europe, unless she is resolved to have one. The culture of her fertile soil is her chief source of acquisition; yet her manufacturing industry is not palsied. Her free colonies no longer excite jealousy, and yet secure to her a share in the commerce of the world. But with a free constitution, she has still an autocratic administration. Can these exist together; and will not the change of the latter be more difficult than was that of the former?

The constitution framed by the Conservative Senate before the arrival of the king, in which the senate had taken the best care of its own interests, was rejected by the king; but on the other hand a constitution was proffered by him, and accepted by the Senate (which was abolished) and the chamber of deputies.

The present constitution, given by the *Charte* has much in common with the British, but not every thing. A constitutional king, with the plenitude of executive power, and the source of legislation; responsible ministers, a chamber of hereditary peers appointed by the king, and a chamber of deputies. But the king has the exclusive power of proposing laws; the inheritance of the peerages is connected with primogeniture; and the ministers have, as ministers, a seat and the power of speaking in the chambers. The law of election and the law of age (thirty years being requisite for a peer, forty for a deputy) must be the supports of this constitution. But after so many scenes in the chambers, the latter law seems to be hardly adequate to the attainment of the object. And in the former, it has been found necessary to make repeated alterations, which are still insufficient, to secure to the ministers the victory. But that no ministry can exist, in this country, while the press is perfectly free, the advocates of the freedom of the press themselves are well aware. In repeated cases, nevertheless, only a tempo-

rary censorship was accorded, which finally had to make way for a stricter regulation.—Of its colonies, France has recovered; in the West Indies, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Marie Galante, Desirade, Les Saintes, together with its part of St. Martin and Cayenne; in Africa, Senegal and Gorée; in the East Indies, Isle de Bourbon, Pondichery, Mahé and Chandernagor. (See p. 322).

16. The restoration of the Swiss confederacy was zealously pursued in the congress of Vienna, in a special committee, appointed by the five leading powers. The result was the territorial aggrandizement of the confederacy by three cantons, and the acknowledgment of its perpetual neutrality. What an advantage for France, covering as it does, its unprotected part! The restoration of its constitution, after the abrogation of the act of mediation, was relinquished to the cantons themselves.

By the declaration of the powers, 20th March, 1815, the acquiescence of the confederacy being declared March 29th, the separated cantons Valais and Neufchatel, and the territory of Geneva, somewhat enlarged at the expense of France and Savoy, were added as three new cantons to the existing nineteen, which were acknowledged in their integrity; the bishoprick of Bâle was annexed mostly to the canton of Berne, but partly to the canton of Bâle. The confederacy has subsequently consisted of 22 cantons. 1. Zurich. 2. Berne. 3. Lucerne. 4. Uri. 5. Schweitz. 6. Underwalden. 7. Glaris. 8. Zug. 9. Friburg. 10. Soleure. 11. Bâle. 12. Schaffhausen. 13. Appenzell. 14. St. Gall. 15. Grisons. 16. Aargau. 17. Thurgau. 18. Tesin. 19. Vaud. 20. Valais. 21. Neufchatel. 22. Geneva. By the new act of confederacy, signed and sworn to by the 22 cantons, 7th Aug. 1815; 1. All the cantons guaranteed each others' territory and constitutions. There

are no longer any subject countries, and the enjoyment of political rights cannot be the exclusive privilege of any class of citizens. 2. The common affairs of the confederacy shall be discussed in a diet, to be held, every two years, alternately at Zurich, Berne and Lucerne. (In the intervening time, the presiding place manages them). It consists of the ambassadors of the 22 cantons, who vote according to their instructions. Each has one vote; the majority decides; in foreign alliances two thirds are necessary. The burgomaster or mayor in office of the city, in which the diet is convened, presides. 3. The diet manages the affairs of the confederacy, declares war and peace, and forms alliances with foreign states. 4. The settlement of the contingents of troops and pecuniary contributions, etc.*

17. Though the restoration of the Spanish monarchy in Europe was a consequence of the fall of Napoleon, matters took a different turn from their course in other states. The territory of the state within Europe had undergone no changes; but the Cortes, which had assembled during the war and imprisonment of the king, had framed a constitution, which, founded on the sovereignty of the people, made the king the mere servant of the Cortes. But at the return of the king he not only refused to accept it, but proceeded with the utmost rigor against its authors. Instead, however, of employing the moment for the introduction of a better constitution, which the nation was justified in expecting after such a conflict and such sacrifices, the opposite extreme was approved of; and the absolute power of the king was again introduced, supported by the in-

1812.

1814.

* (P. Usteri) Handbuck des Schweizerischen Staatvrecht. 1816. 2. Thle.

quisition, restraint on the press, and the Jesuits. Many symptoms of secret ferment were afterwards exhibited, with the deepest decline of the finances and the total want of credit. And notwithstanding, an army was collected at Cadiz, against the insurgent America; an army, which Spain could neither pay nor embark.

18. The consequence of this political error was an insurrection among the army, kindled by Riego and others of its leaders, with the proclamation of the constitution of the Cortes, which the king was forced to accept. Europe saw, therefore, for the first time, the doubly pernicious example (which was not unfortunately to be without imitation) of an army, commanding instead of obeying, and of a constitution which, instead of a true monarchy, was neither a monarchy nor a republic.

The insurrection, having broken out in the army at Cadiz, 1st Jan. 1820, soon spread to Ferrol and Corunna, (Febr.) The king issued a proclamation that he accepted the constitution of the Cortes, and the oath was administered 8th March.

Conformably with the constitution of the 18th of March, 1812, 1. The Cortes were entirely independent of the king as far as respects their continuance, form and assembling. 2. They consisted of only one chamber. 3. They had the right of moving and enacting laws. 4. The king possessed the right only of proposing them, and a temporary *veto*. 5. They fixed annually the amount of forces, both on land and sea. 6. They possessed the right of ratifying treaties of alliance and commerce. 7. They nominated to the king the members of his council of state. 8. They fixed the salaries of his council as well as of the seven ministers (secretaries of state). All ecclesiastical benefices and all

the offices of judge could be bestowed or filled by the king only on the nomination of the council of state. 10. The king should not marry nor go out of the kingdom, without the consent of the Cortes, on penalty of the loss of his throne.—What powers and rights still remained to the king, every one may easily judge.*

19. We have shown above the great change in the Portuguese monarchy, by which a colony became the principal country and the seat of government. Though Portugal still stood before Brazil in the title of the king of the united monarchies, this was not enough to compensate for the loss of the court, so severely felt by the capital; and the military spirit, so powerfully awakened in the nation by the war, made the consequences of the discontent doubly formidable, so soon as the example was given in the neighboring Spain. In Portugal, also, the insurrection first broke out among the troops; an intermediate government had to convene the Cortes, who were still employed in framing a constitution, which was, however, sufficiently far advanced to leave the king on his return from Brazil, only the shadow of authority.

The insurrection broke out among the troops at Oporto, 24th Aug. 1820; it soon formed a combination with the insurrection at Lisbon for the erection of a provisory government and the convocation of the Cortes. The Cortes were opened May 1821, and the king returned in July. In the

* [In April 1823, Spain was invaded by a French army under the Duke d' Angouleme, but without declaration of war, in consequence of the decisions of the congress of Verona, in Nov. 1822.—The invasion resulted in the overthrow of the Cortes; and the despotism of absolute royalty was re-established in the course of 1823.]

essential points, the constitution, framed by the Cortes, coincided with the Spanish; and in some particulars circumscribed the royal power still more.

20. The new Spanish doctrines were not, however, to be confined to the peninsula of the Pyrenees; they soon found their adherents in Italy. The restoration of the prior order of things would have found its principal obstructions in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, had not the conduct of Murat come to the aid of the allies. After his downfal (p. 33) there was no obstacle to the restoration of Naples to king Ferdinand of Sicily, when both countries were again united into the kingdom of the Two Sicilies according to its ancient boundaries. But to preserve internal tranquillity was difficult among a disquiet people, accustomed to so many revolutions, and in whom the seed of innovation had probably been long cherished in a society, called that of the Carbonari, who soon grew into an extensive sect, but first became dangerous to the state by their success with the army Here too an armed power prescribed to and extorted from the king the accepting of a constitution, and that a foreign constitution, the Spanish. The further diffusion of the insurrection could be no longer doubtful, since it was speedily seen in the north of the peninsula; and left it to the option of the allied powers, and especially of Austria, which was most interested in the case, either to be the quiet spectators of a general Italian revolution, or to anticipate it by the strength of arms. The latter was preferred; and the facility of success disappointed the apprehensions, which had been entertained.

The insurrection began in the army, 2nd July, 1820. The Spanish constitution was accepted by the king, and the Crown Prince appointed regent, 7th of July. A parliament was convoked and opened, 1st Oct. But the monarchs and their ministers assembled in Troppau, and afterwards in Laibach, 18th of Oct. whither the king of the Two Sicilies was invited in person, and proceeded on the 13th of December. The allied monarchs promulgated a declaration against the new order in Naples, 9th Febr. 1821 ; and an Austrian army advanced, by which the ancient order was restored without bloodshed ; but the kingdom remained occupied by the Austrians.

21. The restoration of the kingdom of Sardinia constituted a material part of the restoration of Italy. Its territorial extent—less in conformity with the principles of right than of convenience—was increased by the incorporation of the republic of Genoa, with the grant of some liberties and of a free harbor to the capital. The succession was at the same time secured to the line of Carignan by the act of the congress of Vienna. Here also the quiet was interrupted by the insurrection of a part of the army ; it was soon, however, quelled with Austria's assistance, but induced the king Victor Emanuel to resign his crown in favor of his brother Charles Felix.

The garrisons of Alessandria and Turin became insurgent, 10th and 12th of March, 1821. The Austrian troops made a junction April 8th with those, which remained faithful to the king, and after some skirmishes the insurrection was appeased.

22. The state of the church was restored in the extent it possessed before the revolution, including even Bologna and Ferrara, Austria reserving

the right of holding a garrison in Ferrara, with the small district this side the Po; and France re-
1815. 14th June. tained Avignon. But the Roman court protested even against this, though in vain.

23. The restoration of the secundogenitures of Austria in Italy, in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany (aggrandized by the island of Elba and the Stato degli presidi) and in the duchy of Modena according to its ancient boundaries, was increased by a third in Parma and Piacenza, in favor of the archduchess Maria Louisa, wife of Napoleon. But not without the resistance of Spain, which refused for that reason to sign the act of the congress of Vienna, claiming Parma and Piacenza for Don Carlos the son of the Infanta Maria Louisa, formerly queen of Etruria. The justice of the demand was acknowledged; and the matter was adjusted by a subsequent compromise.

By the compact between Austria and Spain at Paris, 10th June, 1817. 1. The arch duchess Maria Louisa remained in possession, for life, of Parma and Piacenza. 2. After her death, it is to revert to the Infanta Maria Louisa, and her son Don Carlos. After the extinction of his male posterity, Parma reverts to Austria, and Piacenza to Sardinia. 3. The Infanta acquired, in the meanwhile, the duchy of Lucca; which in case of the succession in Parma or of extinction, falls to Tuscany.

24. The republic of the Seven Islands, formed during the storms of war, the possession of which had already changed several times in the fifteen years of her continuance (see p. 230, 277,) was placed under the protection of Great Britain by a compact of the four leading powers, with the right

of garrison, the assurance of a free constitution, and the acknowledgment of her commercial flag. She is thus secured; but time must determine, whether Grecian culture will revive under British guardianship.

A treaty respecting the Seven Ionian islands was signed at Paris, 5th Nov. 1815, by Great Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia. The republic consists of the islands, Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, St. Mauro, Ithaca, Paxo and Cerigo with their dependencies. Constitution of 1817, Dec. 29th. A Lord commissioner occupies the place of the king of England as protector. He appoints the president of the senate, consisting of five members, taken from the legislative assembly, which is chosen by the noble electors. The senate has the executive and the initiatory power; but every law and resolution must first have the approbation of the Lord Commissioner. Each island has its separate government and courts. For them all, there is a court of appeal. The Grecian church and Grecian language are prevalent.

25. The north of Europe, as the preceding history has shown, was not spared by the convulsions of the times; and all the states, pertaining to it, underwent great changes. Denmark had to renounce Norway; and received in compensation, nothing but Swedish Pomerania, which it exchanged with Prussia for the duchy of Lauenberg as far as the Elbe (see p. 376). Reckoned by its superficial contents, a poor indemnification; but by its situation and internal value, by no means unimportant. Whether the loss of Norway was truly a loss for Denmark may be doubted. Norway had need of Denmark, not Denmark of Norway, excluding the navy. And a navy of its former strength Denmark will hardly wish to restore.

The constitution of Denmark was unaltered. The introduction of a constitution of states in Holstein, which, separated again from Denmark (see p. 369) belonged to the Germanic Confederation, did not arrive at maturity.

26. The Scandinavian Peninsula now stood under one sovereign by the union of Sweden and Norway (see p. 331). Sweden sought in this union a recompense for the lost Finland, and found it in a political, if not in a statistical respect. Under a king, who has already won renown in war, the two kingdoms are probably destined to enjoy a long period of peace. It will heal the wounds, inflicted by unnecessary participation in former wars, if Norway, treated so ungraciously by nature, can but find a remuneration for what nature has denied. In possession of a free constitution, both kingdoms have, in this respect, nothing to desire.

The Swedish and Norwegian constitutions differ in the circumstance, that in Sweden there exists a powerful hereditary nobility as the first estate of the kingdom, in Norway there neither exists, in reality, any nobility, nor can any be erected. The Swedish Constitution underwent no alteration from the change of dynasty. The fundamental law of Norway in 112 articles of May 17th and Nov. 4th 1814, establishes a hereditary, constitutional monarchy, as in a self-existent, independent and indivisible kingdom, united under one king with Sweden. The king has the whole executive power, and the ratification of the laws (with limitations); appoints his council of state; declares war (with the observance of some formalities;) concludes alliances, treaties of commerce and peace. The assembly of the estates (Storthing) consists of elected members, and is divided, by choice,

into two divisions, the Lagthing, containing a fourth of the members, and the Odelsthing, containing three fourths. The Storthing has the legislative power, the king shares the right of proposing laws with the Odelsthing, by which the propositions are laid before the Lagthing. The members are chosen for three years, and the Storthing is held triennially in the capital, and opened by the king; he can, however, convoke it on extraordinary occasions.*

27. No state issued from those storms more enlarged and strengthened—for strength grows by struggling—than Russia. In the north, it was aggrandized by all Finland, in the south by Bessarabia and a part of Moldavia, and in the east by several provinces by the treaty of peace with Persia, while Poland was allotted to it, in the peace of Vienna. Of greater influence was the national spirit, heightened by the happy event of the conflict, and, most of all, a ruler, whose spirit and activity was acquainted with, and embraced, all his vast sphere of action. Russia, pertaining to two quarters of the world, and founding its dominion in a third, thus stands on a gradation, where—aggrandizement is no longer fortunate. Its constitution is, on the whole, unaltered; but single reforms seem to be only the preludes of a revolution, which the future must unveil. 1814.

By the Ukase of 16th Sept. 1821, Russia appropriated to itself the North West Coast of America from Behring's Straits to 51° N. Lat., and the Kurile Isles as far as Urup 45° N. Lat., and prohibited foreign navigation in the vicinity of the coasts, as well as on the coasts.

* The fundamental law may be found complete in Polit. Journal 1818. 1—5. Numbers.

28. The restoration of the kingdom of Poland was the final result of the mutable destiny and sufferings of this state. Its territory comprises the greater part of the former duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the duchy of Posen, assigned to Prussia, and the city of Cracow with its territory, which was declared a free city. Though Poland was united forever with the Russian empire, it acquired its own representative government, and constitutes therefore, a state, distinct from Russia, but united under the same monarch.

The fate of the kingdom of Poland was decided in Vienna by the compacts of the 3rd of May, 1815. The Constitution given it May 25th, left the principal regulations, as they existed in the duchy of Warsaw, unchanged. 1. The king possesses the plenitude of executive power. He confides the discharge of it to a governor or viceroy, appointed by him, a council of state and ministers. 2. The diet consists of the senate, and the chamber of deputies. The senate consists of thirty members (among them ten bishops), appointed by the king for life. The chamber of deputies consists of sixty members, chosen by the assemblies of the provinces, at least forty years of age. They continue in office nine years, and a third is renewed triennially. The members of the council of state have a seat and vote in the Chamber. 3. The diet convenes every two years at the time fixed by the king, deliberates concerning the laws proposed by him; its session continues no longer than fourteen days.

The free city of Cracow with its territory, to which the act of the congress of Vienna App. III. secured independence, a free constitution, and absolute neutrality (as too important in a military view?) with great precision, belongs, together with the republic of San Marino, which still exists and has existed, as far as is known, unchanged in the state of the Church, to the political curiosities of Europe.

29. The Port had kept itself remote from these storms, with the exception of the war with Russia (see p. 290), which had cost it Bessarabia and a part of Moldavia. Assisted by the powerful Bashaw of Egypt, the Port was more active in Arabia against the Wechabites, than in Europe, the tranquillity of which it will hardly interrupt if left in quiet. But in its own territory, a storm gathered, of which it is still uncertain, whether it will be confined to its boundaries. The Greeks recalled to remembrance their ancient freedom and their ancient renown; an insurrection broke out simultaneously in almost every section of the territory, and was pursued on both sides, on the mainland and on the sea, with a rancor, which scarcely seems to admit of a reconciliation.

The insurrection broke out in Moldavia, and almost simultaneously in the Morea, April 1821, as well as on most of the islands of the Archipelago, whose squadrons were generally superior to the Turkish. At the end of the year 1821, the Turks were driven from the Morea and the islands, with the exception of the garrisons of several strong fortresses, but a great Russian army was already assembled —surely for some purpose—on the banks of the Pruth. The future must disclose the ulterior issue.

30. The political system of Europe was thus restored in its single parts; no important territorial question remained unsettled. That it was to be a free political system, a restoration of the balance of power—was loudly and repeatedly averred by the restorers themselves. It has been asked, whether such a balance can exist with the inequality even of the leading members? It has been appre-

hended, that by the union of Poland with Russia, the preponderance of the latter power on the continent would become too great, while Great Britain, as a naval power, had no counterpoise. But naval wars, like the former, are no longer to be feared in Europe; since England has now no rival either in Europe or in the colonies; and as for the first question, we now know, that the mass merely does not decide, but the spirit, by which the mass is animated. The taste for political freedom so generally aroused in the nations of the West of Europe, is a stronger bulwark, than a chain of fortresses, however desirable this also might be.

31. But nevertheless, an aristocracy of the leading powers has been practically and diplomatically formed in the restored political system of Europe, such as did not exist, at least openly, in the former system of that quarter of the world. Practically, it originated in the manner itself of the restoration; for how was it possible, that the management of general affairs should not come into the hands of the monarchs, to whose violent exertions, the weaker were indebted for their restoration? Diplomatically, this aristocracy, proceeding from the nature of relations, was founded by the treaty of Chaumont, establishing for twenty years, a quadruple alliance of the four leading powers, Austria, Russia, England and Prussia, (see p. 318); confirmed by the form of the procedures at Vienna and the league of Vienna (see p. 327), and finally perfected by the accession of France at the congress of Aix la Chapelle. A gradation however,

in the aristocracy, was immediately formed at Vienna; for while the general concerns of Europe were discussed by those five leading powers, the acts of the congress were, moreover, signed by Portugal and Sweden, which Spain, afterwards, joined. 1817. 15th June.

32. But what cause is there to reprobate such an aristocracy, so long as, confining itself to affairs of general interest, it prescribes to itself the limits, which these demand? It is then necessary and useful, because it springs from the nature of things; unsuspicious, because it is public; it constitutes, in a certain measure, an European senate, which wants only a fixed form. The personal meeting of the monarchs cannot always supply this deficiency; that it will be felt, some incidents have already evinced. But here also it is reserved for time to bring to maturity, what time can best bring to maturity. How beneficial might such an union be for settling the differences, that may arise between the powers themselves, or as mediating authorities between the others! But on the other hand, how dangerous, if, even though from excessive anxiety, they should pass the proper limits!

33. But a higher sanction, than mere diplomacy could lend, policy was to acquire by invoking religion to her aid. To Alexander may be attributed the origin of the Holy Alliance, personally concluded with the monarchs of Austria and Prussia, who were gradually joined by all the Christian states of Europe, England not acceding formally, but acknowledging its principles. The three monarchs bound themselves, "agreeably to the words

" of the holy scriptures, which command all men " to love as brethren, to remain united in the bonds " of true and indissoluble brotherly love; always " to assist one another; to govern their subjects as " parents; to maintain religion, peace and justice. " They consider themselves but as members of " one and the same Christian family; commission- " ed by Providence, to govern the branches of one " family. They call on all powers, who acknowl- " edge similar principles, to join this holy Alli- " ance."

The Holy Alliance was concluded at Paris, Sept. 26th, 1815, between the emperors of Austria and Russia and the king of Prussia.—Politicians, accustomed only to the language and forms of modern diplomacy, were startled at this strange phenomenon. Had they forgotten, that the diplomacy of the 16th and 17th centuries was wont to say much respecting Christianity and its welfare?

34. While the most powerful monarchs of the principal Christian creed were thus binding the ties of brotherly love in behalf of themselves and their subjects; while the two evangelical churches, so long separated, were forming a voluntary union in several countries, the Roman court pursued the opposite line of policy. In truth, the Roman church, as well as the Roman state, had need of a restoration; and Pius VII. as its head, only discharged his duty, as far as he deemed it to the advantage of the church. But it was soon perceived, that less was thought of the restoration of the Roman church than of the restoration of the authority of the Vatican, and of the enforcement of its pretensions. One of the first measures was

the re-establishment of the society of the Jesuits, as a principal support of the Roman chair. Time must show how far it can be so; whether, as in Italy and in a part of Germany and Switzerland, it will find access into France and the rest of Germany, and, as formerly, rekindle the flames of hatred and discord. This it may do, without recovering its political influence, and its members do not seem to want the disposition. From Russia, and from Spain also they were already expelled. One state alone, Portugal, declared itself immediately against their admission; will not others, will not Germany, follow? Can the fearful lessons of the past be so soon forgotten? A bull was sent forth, against "the pestilence of Bible Societies;" as if the days of Gregory VII. were returned. But the most important step was undoubtedly the conclusion of treaties respecting the ecclesiastical relations with the temporal princes. But only two Concordats, with Naples and with Bavaria, have been, hitherto, completed; and the last not without opposition. The one, negotiated with France, seems to have been tacitly revoked by the government, and only in the case of Prussia, have the ready advances of Protestant princes with Catholic subjects been attended by any results. Thus the Catholic church still lies half in ruins; its episcopal sees are mostly vacant; and if it should not be restored—whose will be the fault?

The Jesuits were restored by the Bull: *Solicitudo omnium*, 1814, Aug. 7th. A remarkable bull* (its authenticity has not been denied) was issued against bible societies,

* It may be found in Polit. Journal. 1817. June.

vaferrimum inventum, pestem, quoad fieri potest (yes! yes!) *delendam*, to the Archbishop of Gnesen, Primate of Poland. Jesuit maxims and Jesuit Latin are equally incorrigible!

35. To complete the work of the monarchs, as far as was feasible by outward forms, nothing was wanting but a full reconciliation with France by withdrawing the garrisons (see p. 330). After the payment of the pecuniary obligations undertaken by France, it was determined and immediately executed at the Congress of Aix la Chapelle, principally under the mediation of Wellington, as statesman;* the consequence of which was, the accession of France to the league of the leading powers. This was announced to the world, by a Protocol and Declaration, altogether in the spirit of the Holy Alliance, and proclaiming, at the same time, the maxims and the forms of politics, as a permanent rule for the future.

1818. 9th Oct.

36. Thus the grand drama of the history of the political system of Europe for three hundred years concluded with its restoration. May the future correspond to the sublime sentiments, expressed by the monarchs! May the clouds be dispersed, which have already gathered in the West and the East of Europe. The history of the world, however, knows no last act; and the political edifice was never yet possessed of entire perfection and immutability; for nothing is faultless, which is the work of man's hands.

* [In the Congress of Verona, Oct. to Dec. 1822, England assumed an attitude of opposition to the measures, proposed by the continental powers.]

A TABLE

Of the Sovereigns of Europe, from 1500 *to* 1828.

I. POPES.

	Year of death or abdication.
Alexander VI. (Borgia) from 1492	1503, 18th Aug.
Pius III. (Piccolomini)	1503, 18th Oct.
Julius II. (delle Rovere)	1513, 21st Feb.
Leo X. (Medici)	1521, 1st Dec.
Hadrian VI.	1523, 14th Sept.
Clemens VII. (Medici)	1534, 25th Sept.
Paul III. (Farnese)	1549, 10th Nov.
Julius III. (Giocchi)	1555, 25th March.
Marcellus II. (Cervini)	1555, 30th April.
Paul IV. (Caraffa)	1559, 17th Aug.
Pius IV. (Medighi)	1565, 9th Dec.
Pius V. (Ghisleri)	1572, 1st May.
Gregory XIII. (Buoncompagni)	1585, 10th April.
Sextus V. (Montalto)	1590, 26th Aug.
Urban VII. (Castagni)	1590, 28th Sept.
Gregory XIV. (Sfondrati)	1591, 15th Oct.
Innocent IX. (Fachinetti)	1591, 29th Dec.
Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini)	1605, 5th March.
Leo XI. (Medici)	1605, 27th April.
Paul V. (Borghese)	1621, 27th Jan.
Gregory XV. (Ludovisi)	1623, 18th July.
Urban VIII. (Barberini)	1644, 29th July.
Innocent X. (Pamphili)	1655, 7th Jan.
Alexander VII. (Chigi)	1667, 21st May.
Clement IX. (Rospigliosi)	1669, 9th Dec.
Clement X. (Altieri)	1676, 21st July.
Innocent XI. (Odescalchi)	1689, 12th Aug.
Alexander VIII. (Ottoboni)	1691, 1st Feb.
Innocent XII. (Pignatelli)	1700, 27th Sept.
Clement XI. (Albani)	1721, 18th March.
Innocent XIII. (Conti)	1724, 3d March.
Benedict XIII. (Orsini)	1730, 20th Feb.
Clement XII. (Corsini)	1740, 5th Feb.
Benedict XIV. (Lambertini)	1758, 2d May.
Clement XIII. (Rezzonico)	1769, 2d Feb.
Clement XIV. (Ganganelli)	1774, 22d Sept.
Pius VI. (Braschi)	1799, 29th Aug.
Pius VII. (Chiaramonte)	1823, 19th Aug.
Leo XII. (Genga)	

II. ROMAN EMPERORS. (House of Hapsburg.)

Maximilian I. from 1492	1519, 12th Jan.
Charles V. abdicated	1558, Feb.
Ferdinand I.	1564, 25th July.
Maximilian II.	1576, 12th Oct.
Rudolf II.	1612, 10th Jan.
Mathias	1619, 20th March.
Ferdinand II.	1637, 15th Feb.
Ferdinand III.	1657, 23d March.
Leopold I.	1705, 5th May.
Joseph I.	1711, 17th April.
Charles VI.	1740, 20th Oct.
Charles VII. (of Bavaria)	1745, 20th Jan.

(House of Lorraine.)

Francis I.	1765, 18th Aug.
Maria Theresa	1780, 29th Nov.
Joseph II.	1790, 20th Feb.
Leopold II.	1792, 1st March.
Francis II. as Roman emperor till	1806, 6th Aug.

III. RUSSIA.

Ivan Vassilievitch the Great from 1462	1505, 27th Oct.
Vasilei	1533, 3d Dec.
Ivan Vassilievitch II. first Czar	1584, 28th March.
Feodore I.	1598, 7th Jan.
Boris	1605, 13th April.
Pseudo-Demetrius	1606, 18th May.
Shuskoi	1610, 27th July.

(House of Romanow.)

Michael Feodorovitch 1613	1645, 12th July.
Alexei	1676, 8th Feb.
Feodor II.	1682, 27th April.
Ivan (with Peter and Sophia)	1689, 11th Sept.
Peter I. alone (Emperor 1721)	1725, 8th Feb.
Catharine I.	1727, 17th May.
Peter II.	1730, 29th Jan.
Anne	1740, 28th Oct.
Ivan III.	1741, 6th Oct.
Elizabeth	1762. 5th Jan.
Peter III. (of Holstein-Gottorp)	1762, 9th July.
Catharine II.	1796, 17th March.
Paul I.	1801, 24th March.
Alexander I.	1825, 1st Dec.
Nicholas I.	

IV. SULTANS.

Bajazet II. from 1481, deposed	1512, August.
Selim I.	1520, 22d Sept.

Soliman II.	1566, 4th Sept.
Selim II.	1574, 13th Dec.
Murad III.	1595, 18th Jan.
Muhammed III.	1603, 21st Dec.
Achmet I.	1617, 15th Nov.
Mustapha I. dethroned for the second time	1623, 16th Aug.
Murad IV.	1640, 8th Feb.
Ibrahim	1648, 17th Aug.
Muhammed IV. deposed	1687, 29th Oct.
Soliman III.	1691, 22d June.
Achmet II.	1695, 6th Feb.
Mustapha II. deposed	1703, 30th Sept.
Achmet III. deposed	1730, 2d Oct.
Mahmud I.	1754, 13th Sept.
Osman III.	1757, 28th Oct.
Mustapha III.	1774, 21st Jan.
Abdul Hamid	1789, 7th April.
Selim III. deposed	1807, 29th May.
Mustapha IV. deposed	1808, 28th July.
Mahmud II.	

V. PORTUGAL. (House of Burgundy.)

Emanuel the Great from 1495	1521, 13th Dec.
John III.	1557, 10th June.
Sebastian	1578, 4th Aug.
Henry	1588, 31st Jan.
Portugal Spanish till 1640.	

(House of Braganza.)

John IV. Dec. 1640	1656, 28th Feb.
Alphonso VI. deposed	1667, 23d Nov.
Peter II.	1706, 9th Dec.
John V.	1750, 31st July.
Joseph Emanuel	1777, 25th Feb.
Maria I.	1816, 20th March.
John VI. (Regent 1799) fled to Brazil, 1807, 30th Nov.	1826, 10th March.

VI. SPAIN. (House of Hapsburg.)

Ferdinand Catholicus from 1479 } Isabella from 1474 }	1516, 1st Jan. 1504, 26th Nov.
Philip I. of Austria, from 1504	1506, 25th Sept.
Charles I. from 1516, (abdicated 1556)	1558, 21st Sept.
Philip II.	1598, 13th Sept.
Philip III.	1621, 28th Feb.
Philip IV.	1665, 17th Sept
Charles II.	1700, 1st Nov.

(House of Anjou.)

Philip V.	1746, 9th July.
(Louis) 15th Jan. 1724	1724, 1st Aug.
Perdinand VI.	1759, 10th Aug.
Charles III.	1788, 13th Dec.
Charles IV. abdicated	1808, 19th March.
(Joseph Bonaparte till May 1814)	
Ferdinand VII.	

VII. FRANCE. (House of Valois.)

Charles VIII. from 1483	1498, 7th April.
Louis XII.	1515, 1st Jan.
Francis I.	1547, 31st March
Henry II.	1559, 10th July.
Francis II.	1560, 5th Dec.
Charles IX.	1574, 30th May.
Henry III.	1589, 1st Aug.

(House of Bourbon.)

Henry IV.	1610, 14th May.
Louis XIII.	1643, 14th May.
Louis XIV.	1715, 1st Sept.
Louis XV.	1774, 10th May.
Louis XVI.	1793, 21st Jan.
(Louis XVII.)	1795, 8th June.
(Napoleon Emperor 1804—1814)	
Louis XVIII.	1824, 16th Sept.
Charles X.	

VIII. ENGLAND. (House of Tudor.)

Henry VII. from 1485	1509, 21st April.
Henry VIII.	1547, 28th Jan.
Edward VI.	1553, 6th July.
Mary	1558, 17th Nov.
Elizabeth	1603, 3d April.

(House of Stuart.)

James I.	1625, 6th April.
Charles I.	1649, 30th Jan.
(Cromwell)	1658, 3d Sept.
Charles II. from 1660	1685, 5th Feb.
James II. exiled	1688, 24th Dec.
William III. }	1702, 19th March.
Mary }	1695, 6th Jan.
Anne	1714, 12th Aug.

(House of Hanover.)

George I.	1727, 22d June.
George II.	1760, 25th Oct.
George III.	1820, 29th Oct.
George IV. (Prince Regent 1811, 10th Jan.)	

KINGS IN SCOTLAND BEFORE THE UNION.

(House of Stuart.)

James IV. from 1488	1513, 9th Sept.
James V.	1542, 8th Dec.
Mary	1587, 8th Feb.
James VI. became in 1603 King of England.	

IX. NAPLES. (House of Arragon.)

Ferdinand I. from 1458	1494, 25th Jan.
Alphonso II. abdicated	1495, 22d Jan.
Ferdinand II.	1496, 7th Oct.
Frederic dethroned	1501.
Naples Spanish to 1713.	
Austria to 1735.	

(Spanish House of Anjou.)

Charles III. from 1735	1759, 5th Oct.
Ferdinand IV.	1825, 4th Jan.
(Joseph Bonaparte 1806, 30th March	1808, 15th July.)
(Joachim Murat	1815, 20th May.)
Francis I.	

X. SAVOY.

Philibert II. duke from 1497	1504, 10th Sept.
Charles III.	1553, 16th Sept.
Emanuel Philibert	1580, 15th Aug.
Charles Emanuel I. the Great	1630, 26th July.
Victor Amadeus I.	1637, 7th Oct.
Charles Emanuel II.	1675, 12th June.
Victor Amadeus II. king of Sardinia, 1720, abdicated	1730, 2d Sept.
Charles Emanuel III.	1773, 20th Feb.
Victor Amadeus III.	1796, 16th Oct.
Charles Emanuel IV. abdicated	1802, 4th June.
Victor Emanuel abdicated	1821, 13th March.
Charles Felix	

XI. POLAND.

Sigismund I. from 1506	1548, 1st April.
Sigismund II. Augustus	1572, 1st June.
Henry of Valois fled	1574, 18th June.
Stephen Bathori	1586, 12th Dec.
Sigismund III.	1632, 30th April.
Vladislaus IV.	1648, 20th May.
John Casimir abdicated	1668, 17th Sept.
Michael Wisnowicky	1673, 10th Nov.
John Sobiesky	1696, 17th June.
Augustus II. of Saxony	1733, 1st Feb.
(Stanislaus-Lesczinsky 1704—1709)	

Augustus III.	1763, 5th Oct.
Stanislaus Poniatowsky deposed	1795.

XII. DENMARK. (House of Holstein-Oldenburg.)

John from 1481	1513, 20th Feb.
Christian II. deposed	1523, Jan.
Frederic I.	1533, 10th April.
Christian III.	1559, 1st Jan.
Frederic II.	1588, 4th April.
Christian IV.	1648, 28th Feb.
Frederic III.	1670, 9th Feb.
Christian V.	1699, 25th Aug.
Frederic IV.	1730, 12th Oct.
Christian VI.	1746, 6th Aug.
Frederic V.	1766, 14th Jan.
Christian VII.	1808, 13th March.
Frederic VI. (associate sovereign 1784)	

XIII. SWEDEN. (House of Vasa.)

Gustavus Vasa from 1524	1560, 29th Sept.
Erich XIV. deposed	1568, 29th Sept.
John	1592, 21st May.
Sigmund deposed	1600.
Charles IX.	1611, 30th Oct.
Gustavus Adolphus	1632, 6th Nov.
Christina abdicated	1654, 16th June.

(House of Deux Ponts.)

Charles X. Gustavus	1660, 23d Feb.
Charles XI.	1697, 15th April.
Charles XII.	1718, 11th Dec.
Ulrica Eleonora Frederic of Hesse	1751, 6th April.

(House of Holstein-Gottorp.)

Adolphus Frederic	1771, 12th Feb.
Gustavus III.	1792, 29th March.
Gustavus IV. deposed	1809, 13th March.
Charles XIII.	1818, 5th Feb.
Charles XIV. John (Bernadotte)	

XIV. THE ELECTORAL-PALATINATE.

Philip Ingenuus elector from 1476	1508, 28th Feb.
Ludovicus V.	1544, 16th March.
Frederic II.	1556, 26th Feb.
Otto Henry	1559, 12th Feb.

(Palatinate of Simmern.)

Frederic III.	1576, 26th Oct.
Ludovicus VI.	1583, 12th Oct.

Frederic IV.	1610, 9th Sept.
Frederic V. (deposed 1623)	1632, 19th Nov.
Charles Louis reinstated 1650	1680, 28th Aug.
Charles	1685, 16th May.
(Palatinate of Neuburg.)	
Philip William	1690, 2d Sept.
Charles Philip	1742, 31st Dec.
(Palatinate of Sulzbach.)	
Charles Theodore (see Bavaria)	1799, 16th Feb.

XV. BAVARIA.

Albert IV. duke from 1473	1508, 17th March.
William IV.	1550, 6th March.
Albert V.	1579, 24th Oct.
William V. abdicated	1597.
Maximilian I, Elector 1623	1651, 17th Sept.
Ferdinand Maria	1679, 26th May.
Maximilian II. Emanuel	1726, 27th Feb.
Charles Albert (Emperor Charles VII.)	1745, 20th Jan.
Maximilian III. Joseph	1777, 30th Dec.
Charles Theodore of the Palatinate	1799, 16th Feb.
Maximilian Joseph. King 1806	1825, 13th Oct.
Lewis I.	

XVI. ELECTORATE OF SAXONY. (Ernestine line.)

Frederic III. the wise elector 1500	1525, 5th May.
John Constance	1532, 16th Aug.
John Frederic, lost the electorate	1547, 4th June.
(Albertine line.)	
Maurice, Elector 1548	1553, 11th July.
Augustus	1586, 11th Feb.
Christian I.	1591, 25th Sept.
Christian II.	1611, 23d June.
John George I.	1656, 8th Oct.
John George II.	1680, 22d Aug.
John George III.	1691, 12th Sept.
John George IV.	1694, 27th April.
Frederic Augustus I.	1733, 1st Feb.
Frederic Augustus II.	1763, 5th Oct.
Frederic Christian	1763, 17th Dec.
Frederic Augustus III. king 1806	1827, 6th May.
Frederic Augustus IV.	

XVII. BRANDENBURG. (House of Hohenzollern.)

Joachim I. Elector from 1493	1535, 11th July.
Joachim II.	1571, 3d Jan.
John George	1598, 8th Jan.
Joachim Frederic	1608, 18th July.

Joachim Sigismund Duke in Prussia 1618	1619, 23d Dec.
George William	1640, 21st Nov.
Frederic William the Great	1688, 29th April.
Frederic III. (I.) king in Prussia 1701	1713, 25th Feb.
Frederic William I.	1740, 31st May.
Frederic II.	1786, 17th Aug.
Frederic William II.	1797, 17th Nov.
Frederic William III.	

XVIII. HANOVER.

George Augustus Elector from 1692	1698, 28th Jan.
George I. see England	

XIX. STADTHOLDERS IN HOLLAND.

(Elder line of Orange.)

William I. from 1572	1584, 10th July.
Maurice	1625, 23d April.
Henry Frederic	1647, 14th May.
William II.	1650, 6th Nov.
William III. hereditary stadtholder from 1674	1702, 18th March.

(Younger line of Orange.)

William IV. gen. hered. stadtholder from 1747	1751, 22d Oct.
William V.	1795, Jan.
William I. king of the Netherlands	

XX. TUSCANY. (Medici.)

Alexander first Duke 1531	1537, 7th Jan.
Cosmo I. (Grand Duke 1569)	1574, 21st April.
Francis	1587, 19th Oct.
Ferdinand I.	1608, 7th Feb.
Cosmo II.	1621, 28th Feb.
Ferdinand II.	1670, 24th March.
Cosmo III.	1723, 21st Oct.
John Gasto	1737, 9th July.

(House of Lorraine.)

Francis Stephen	1765, 18th Aug.
Leopold	1790, 2d July.
Ferdinand	

Presidents of the United States of America, since the constitution of 1789.

George Washington from 1789	1797, 4th March.
John Adams	1801, "
Thomas Jefferson	1809, "
James Madison	1817, "
James Monroe	1825, "
John Q. Adams	1829, "
Andrew Jackson (president elect)	

END OF VOL. II.